

THE VIKING AND NORMAN DYNASTIES AND THEIR
CONQUEST OF ENGLAND (983 - 1066)

THE GOD-KINGS OF ENGLAND

BY HUGH MONTGOMERY

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And Their Conquest of England

(983-1066)

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Dedication

To Bo~Gabriel de Montgomery
Scholar, Gentleman and Cousin

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BIBLIOGRAPHY AND MEDIEVAL SOURCES

- (a) '*Gesta Guillelmi Ducis Normannorum et Regis Anglorum*' by William of Poitiers written between 1074-1077. William of Poitiers was chaplain to William the Conqueror.
- (b) '*Gesta Normannorum Ducum*' of William of Jumieges written c. 1130
- (c) '*Historia Ecclesiastica*' of Ordericus Vitalis
- (d) '*Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*' by Guy, Bishop of Amiens
- (e) '*The Bayeux Tapestry*' probably stitched in Canterbury on the orders of Odo of Bayeux, the half-brother of William I and was to an extent a piece of early propaganda to show Odo and his friend Eustace of Boulogne (whose real contribution to the battle of Hastings is murky) in the best possible light.
- (f) '*De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*' by Dudo of St. Quentin
- (g) Documents and letters from the Danish State Archives for the years 1040-1073 of which the Chief Archivist kindly sent me photocopies.
- (h) '*Gesta Normanum*' by Ebrard de Montgomery Three fragments remained in the possession of the family until the mid 18th. Century. See Montgomery, H. (2001) '*The Montgomery Millennium – Megatrend*, Belgrade & London. Ebrard de Montgomery was the youngest son of Roger de Montgomery, by his second wife, Adeliza de Puiset and was chaplain to both William II and Henry I. Although born after 1082 Ebrard would have had a chance to talk to his father and others who took part in the events of 1066. Though by all accounts he did not get on well with his eldest brother, Robert of Belleme. It is almost certainly he who originally used the term "*At the time of Rollo the Pirate*". (See chap.2). Some of this was used in a family History published in 1842 by Geogiana Reilly from documents in the possession of the Montgomerys of Grey Abbey. This source is therefore secondary

Further sources and references are to be found at the end of each chapter.

Introduction

In my book 'The God Kings of Europe' I showed how the early Christian/Judaic Church had been suborned by the Roman Empire. How they had agreed to write Jesus' descendents and family out of history. How they took from them the family Bishoprics of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch and Ephesus. That one Church Father actually proclaimed that Jesus had been preaching the wrong religion!

The Church would have succeeded had not a descendant of Jesus himself, Maria of the Elchasaites, married the King of the Visigoths, Ataulf. This marriage to the conquerors of Rome allowed the families of Jesus and his brethren to continue under their protection and formed the basis for the great Ulvungar dynasty, descended from Herioldus Brocus or Lothbroc. The Ulvungars bided their time but eventually counter-attacked. They launched Viking raids into both Europe and England and then decided on a policy of occupation, first in Normandy, where one branch became the Dukes of Normandy and later Kings of England. The family was to be kept safe but undercover, accepting the hated Baptism if that is what it took, but keeping alive their ancient Mesopotamian and Middle Eastern origins.

Most people think of the Viking and Danish occupations of England as completely divorced from the Norman Conquest, but as this book will show, the Norman Conquest was merely the last and most successful invasion by the Ulvungar Dynasty. The Conquest of England was planned and started by the Ulvungar Ragnar and completed by his descendants. The Norman conquest of England was planned and executed by five men: William of Duke of Normandy, Roger de Beaumont, Roger de Montgomery, Robert d'Eu and William Fitz-Osbern all Ulvungar descendants.

This is their story.

*“Howso great man’s strength be reckoned,
There are two things he cannot flee;
Love is the first, and Death is the second –
And love, in England, hath taken me!”*

(From Sir Richard’s song – Puck of Pook’s Hill by Rudyard Kipling)

England and the Events that lead to the Invasion

On a cold day in January 1066, probably on 5th, King Edward, known as ‘The Confessor’, died. His death triggered events that have echoed down the ages. It marked the end of the reign of the Anglo-Saxon Royal line. It precipitated a series of events leading to the Norman Invasion and the replacement of the Anglo-Saxon Kings by the Norse line of the Dukes of Normandy and the AngloSaxon Thegns by the Norman Barons.

The reasons, however go back over many years, and before we can judge the rights or wrongs involved or even why those events triggered the Invasion, it is first necessary to look at England and Europe for about 100 years or so before the events of 1066 and to look at the Legal Claims to the throne.

There may well be a case for saying that England, as a united kingdom, did not exist prior to the Norman Invasion. Certainly the Anglo-Saxons had pushed the native Celts back to the fringes of Britain, to what we would now call Scotland, Wales and Cornwall. Though it must be emphasised that the Celts were not themselves the original inhabitants and indeed should perhaps be called Romano-Celts, because recent archaeology suggests that they may well have been the last remnants of the old Western Roman Empire and indeed had maintained contact and trade with the Eastern Roman Empire in Byzantium after the fall of Rome itself, much longer than previously thought (1). They had conquered earlier inhabitants before themselves being driven out to the fringes by the Anglo-Saxons.

There was however another group, who had already made their presence felt, and this was the Danes or Vikings and who together with the settled Vikings in Normandy, were quite often referred to collectively as the ‘Norse or Norsemen’. One of the curious things about modern historians is the belief that the Anglo-Saxons equal and were the same as the English. This may be politically correct but in reality the Anglo-Saxons were merely one of a group of people competing to be the dominant race in Albion (The ancient and at that time more traditional name for England – meaning the White Land – probably deriving from the sight of the white cliffs of Dover). Indeed in my opinion it was the Danes who were the dominant race and not the Anglo-Saxons. Prof. R. Allen Brown in his excellent book ‘The Normans’ even suggests that the people of England, at the time of and just prior to the conquest, should be called Anglo-Scandinavians, rather than Anglo-Saxons. Certainly the Kingdoms of both Mercia and Northumbria were under Danelaw until at least 1042 and it could be argued that Wessex and East Anglia were merely subsidiary kingdoms owing allegiance to the Danish Crown. In fact the House of Wessex, (West Saxons) and the one remaining AngloSaxon Kingdom in the year 900, only claimed to be ‘Kings of England’ or possibly only ‘Kings of the English’, as late as 937, with the defeat of the Scots and Norse army at Brunanburgh (probably near Rotherham in Yorkshire) (2).

In my book 'The God Kings of Europe' I showed how the mighty Ulvungar dynasty was descended from the Visigothic and Davidic Royal Houses and how they had taken on and defeated the old Western Roman Empire and established a series of Kingdoms spanning most of France, Scandinavia and Russia. They had temporarily been pushed back by the Christianisation of Europe and the rise of the Charlemagnic dynasty backed by the Roman Catholic Church, but by the 9th century were back trying to recover their lands. The conquest of Normandy and England were to be vital in their designs.

In fig. 1, I have given a list of the rival Royal Houses of the Danes and Anglo-Saxons, which make interesting reading. As can immediately be seen at the same time as Aethelred II (Known as the Unready) was supposed to be King, the Dane Sweyn Forkbeard seems to have been under the impression that he was King of England.

Fig. 1-Kings of England 980 - 1066

<u>Anglo-Saxon</u>	<u>Danes</u>
Aethelred II (978 - 1016)	Sweyn Forkbeard (983 - 1014)
Edmund Ironside (1014 - 1016)	Cnut (Canute) (1014 - 1035)
Edward the Exile (1016 - 1042) d. 1057	Harold Harefoot (1035 - 1040)
Edward the Confessor (1042 - 1066)	Harthacnut (1040 - 1042)
 <u>Norwegian</u>	
Magnus (1042 until his death)	Sweyn Esthrithson (1042 - 1066 but continued to claim)

(Source for Danish Line - Den Store Danske Encyklopaedi 1998 Edition)

Aethelred had killed his elder brother Eadweard II (Known afterwards as Edward the Martyr) in 978 and usurped the Throne. He was known throughout his life as 'The Unready' or more properly as 'Unraed', meaning evil counsel, almost certainly as an ironic twist to his name Aethelred, which means 'Noble Counsel' (3).

The House of Wessex, which became the Anglo-Saxon Royal House, were probably descended from the Visigoth King, Rhoe the Weooulgeot (or Odin-God) as set out in my book The God-Kings of Europe. The Wessex King List that shows descent from Odin almost certainly in reality shows descent from Rhoe the Odin rather than the mythical God figure (See [Appendix 16](#)).

Meanwhile Sweyn Forkbeard arrived in England with a large army including the

elite Joms-Vikings and deposed Aethelred in 1013 and proclaimed himself, King of England by conquest. Sweyn was the son of Harold Bluetooth and grandson of Gorm the Old, King of Denmark (4) and consequently an Ulvungar. In fact Gorm his grandfather was second cousin to Hrolf or Rollo founder of the Norman Dynasty (See Genealogy III). Sweyn's battle flag was that of the Black Raven, the Norse bird of battle and victory, to be seen on many a hard fought battle scene, pecking out the eyes of the fallen. A much later battle, that of Kossovo in Serbia, is known as the field of Blackbirds, but more properly in English should be called the field of Ravens.

Sweyn died in 1014 and was buried at Lincoln, but Aethelred had had enough and fled to Normandy, to the safety of his wife's family and abdicated, dying there in 1016. Again it is usual to talk of Aethelred paying large amounts of 'Danegeld' to keep the Danes at bay but the Danes saw this rather differently. So far as they were concerned this was simply taxes, which the subject Anglo-Saxons owed to them, their overlords. What we must appreciate is that the Danes had considered for generations, that the north of England was theirs (the Kingdoms of Northumbria and Mercia) and even today this North – South divide still exists. For much of this time too the Scots allied themselves with the Norse against the Anglo-Saxons. The very Scots word for a foreigner is *Sassanach*, meaning Saxon.

Meanwhile Aethelred's son, Edmund Ironside, took the opportunity with the death of Sweyn to seize his father's throne, coming to England in 1014 and proclaiming himself King. His assumption of the throne did not last long however, for with the arrival in England of Cnut, the son of Sweyn and known to generations of school children as King Canute, he was forced into a deal. He could keep the old Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Wessex as under-king to Cnut but should one die then whoever survived would become King of ALL ENGLAND. Unfortunately for Edmund it was he who died within a year and Cnut who became King of All England.

Cnut reigned for 21 years and during this time England became very much Danish in outlook. The Roman Church lost much of its influence and polygamy became, if not commonplace, then at least not unusual, led by Cnut himself, who although already married to Aelgifa of Northampton, took Emma (In Anglo-Saxon 'Aelgyfu') the widow of Aethelred II, as his second wife, his first wife remaining in Denmark. Some historians have called his first wife a mistress, but as with the case of Harold Hardrada, I believe the case for polygamy is overwhelming. (See notes on Polygamy). Emma, who was of the Ducal family of Normandy, and importantly for Cnut a member of the Ulvungar dynasty, was also great-aunt of William the Conqueror. She already had a son by Aethelred – Edward (later to be known as 'The Confessor'). By Cnut she had at least two children, a son Harthacnut and a daughter Gunhild.

Just to make life difficult for students of history, Aethelred had also been married before he married Emma, to a lady by the name of Elfreda, and which unfortunately also translates as Elgifu. In order to try to help the reader I have used different spellings for each lady and have generally referred to Emma using her Norman name. By Elfreda Aethelred had a son, Edmund Ironside to whom we have already referred and who in turn had a son called Edward and known either as Edward the Aetheling (which simply means heir) or Edward the Exile, as although the Anglo-Saxons regarded him as their king, he in fact never set foot in England until just before his death in 1057 (5). (See figs. 2 & 3 headed 'Descendants of Cnut' and 'Descendants of Aethelred II').

Upon the death of Cnut his eldest son Sweyn, by Aelgifa of Northampton became King of Norway and his son by Emma, Harthacnut became King of both Denmark and England. However Cnut had a second son by Aelgifa called Harold

Harefoot, who decided to try his luck in England. It is uncertain whether he was sent as his younger brother's deputy or whether he simply came to England of his own volition, but at all events he arrived in England shortly after Cnut's death and finding his brother Harthacnut very unpopular with certain sections of the population, had himself crowned as King Harold I and reigned from 1035 until 1040. Emma, who apparently loathed Harefoot, together with her sons by Aethelred, Edward and Alfred, made an abortive invasion of England from Normandy, but were defeated by Harefoot who captured Alfred and had him blinded so badly that he died. Edward meanwhile, fled back to Normandy. (This question of blinding of liege lords is dealt with in some detail in 'The God Kings of Europe').

In 1040 Harthacnut got together a large force and arrived in England presuming that he was going to have to fight his elder brother for the throne of England, only to discover on landing that Harold Harefoot had died about two weeks previously. Harthacnut took his revenge by having his brother's body dug up and thrown into a bog.

Harthacnut was supported in this somewhat naturally by his mother, Emma but he was nonetheless deeply unpopular with his Anglo-Saxon subjects and perhaps at his mother's suggestion, brought over his elder half-brother Edward as something like co-king but I think principally as a sop to the Anglo-Saxons.

It is interesting to look at some of the English Charters from Harthacnut's reign, many of which exist in part or in fragments in the Royal State Archives in Denmark and whose chief archivist has so kindly made photocopies available to me. For example Document No: 467-dated 8th. June 1042 says:

"Ego Hardacnut . . . rex Anglorum eque totius Albionis Hardacnut rex totius Brytanniae, Aelfgyfu eiusdem regis mater"

(I Harthacnut . . . King of the Angles (English ?) and of all Albion. Harthacnut King of all Britain, the King's mother herself Aelfgyfu (Emma)).

Again document No: 468 also dated 8th. June 1042 says:

"Ego Hardacnut, Christo conferente, rex et primicerius Anglorum atque Danorum Hardacnut rex, Aelfgiua eiusdem regis mater, Eadward praedicti regis frater"

(I Harthacnut, conferred by Christ, King and first of the Angles and Danes. . . . Harthacnut King, Aelfgiua (Emma) herself mother of the King, Edward aforementioned brother of the King).

It is clearly Harthacnut (6) who is King of England and not Edward, indeed there is no suggestion in any of these charters of 'Eadward co-rex' or 'etque Eadward rex'. It is equally clear that the Edward referred to is Edward the Confessor and not Edward the Exile, who at this point the Anglo-Saxons would like to think is King of England.

When Harthacnut died without legitimate heirs, his will divided his kingdoms up, making Magnus, King of Norway his successor in England and Sweyn Esthritson, a cousin, his heir to Denmark. Edward however was already in England and had brought with him a large number of Norman Knights and Barons, having lived for the first twentyfive years of his life in Normandy under the protection of the Norman Dukes, the last of whom being William the Conqueror. To William he had made the promise whilst still in Normandy that should he ever succeed to the Throne of England, then in the case of his death without children, William would become his heir. Edward therefore seized his opportunity and had himself crowned King of England. This act provoked outrage from Magnus, who wrote him a letter

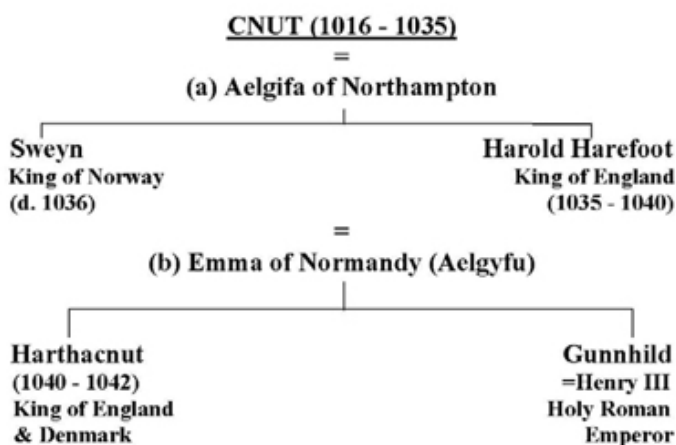
which still exists in which he makes it clear that Edward is merely his regent ruling until such time as he, Magnus, comes to claim his throne (7).

Edward was in fact very lucky. He replied to Magnus's letter that he Edward, was the legal successor to Harthacnut (8). Had Magnus not been preoccupied with Denmark and Norway it is likely that he would have invaded England to claim his throne and it is very likely that with the help of Harold Hardrada, his Co-King, and the most famous warrior of his day, that he would have succeeded. In fact William's eventual success owes much to this dispute, as we shall see. One thing that is clear from all these claims is that however much modern politically correct democrats may dislike the idea; it is quite plain that there was an assumption that a King could nominate his successor and that the land and its people went with that nomination, though quite often the people themselves objected and frequently opposed the nominee by force of arms. There is some dispute as to the position of the Witen or Witenagemot (Anglo-Saxon Council). Some historians maintain that the Witen had to approve the new King (9). My only comment is that in that case the Danish royal line seems to have dispensed with this approval.

At this point it is worthwhile to look at the descendants of both Cnut and Aethelred, to see the family interrelationships and the various claims to the throne. (See Figs 2, 3 and 4)

As we can see from fig. 2, (p.9) Cnut had married twice, first to Aelgifa of Northampton by whom he had two sons, Sweyn who became King of Norway and Harold Harefoot, who as we mentioned previously became King of England from 1035 to 1040. Secondly he married Emma of Normandy, indeed he went so far as to demand she became his wife, though by all accounts Emma was not unhappy with this choice. I would suggest that he needed to marry back into the Ulvungar dynasty not only to protect his throne from incursions by this powerful younger branch of the family, but also to reinforce this 'semi-divine' dynasty descended from the Odonic and Davidic lines (See God Kings of Europe).

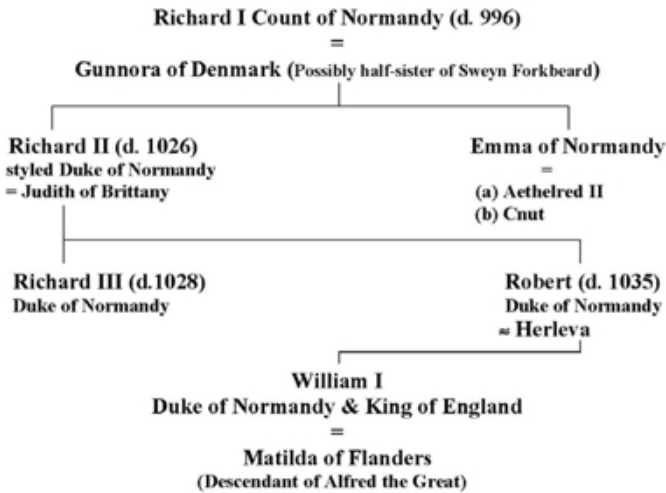
Fig. 2 - DESCENDANTS OF CNUT



By Emma, Cnut had two children, Harthacnut, who followed his father as King of Denmark and eventually King of England as well, and Gunnhild, a daughter who married the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry III. This of course created the possibility

claim. Lastly he has an agreement with Sweyn Esthrithson.

Fig. 4 - DESCENDANTS OF RICHARD I
COUNT OF NORMANDY



Secondly we have Sweyn Esthrithson, another Ulvungar, descended from Sweyn Forkbeard (13). His mother was Estrith daughter of Cnut and his father Ulf, Regent of Denmark under Cnut (14). Designated heir of Harthacnut in Denmark and now King of Denmark, though fighting Magnus and Harold Hardrada. In his eyes also rightfully King of England, as England was a vassal kingdom to Denmark. Also promised the throne by Edward (15), and the second person so promised, but in his case ‘Even if Edward has children of his own’. As we can see King Edward’s promises seem to mean little, no wonder he was called ‘The Confessor’, he must have had a lot to confess!

Thirdly there is the claim of Magnus of Norway. He was the designated heir of Harthacnut and accordingly was the true King of England and not Edward, perhaps that’s why Edward did not seem to mind to whom he promised the throne? Magnus was supported by Emma against her own son Edward. On his death his claim is taken up by Harold Hardrada, his co-king and uncle.

Fourthly there was the claim by Harold Godwinsson, who had himself crowned King on Edward’s death. He was the son of Gytha, sister of Ulf of Denmark and therefore son-in-law of Cnut, and via his mother an Ulvungar (See [Appendix 5](#)). His sister Edith had married King Edward, though they had no children and he had possibly been promised the throne by Edward on his deathbed. Certainly the Bayeaux Tapestry suggests this. Well what’s one more, when you have already promised your throne to two other men!

Fig. 1



There was also a faction at Edward's court who thought that the rightful heir was none of these but Walter, Count of the Vexin, or should Eustace of Boulogne and Godgifu have a daughter and she married then her husband would have a right. It is interesting that Eustace made a trip to England in 1051 and although he was supposed to be an envoy for William, there are those who say that he was actively trying to get his own family declared heirs to the throne (16). Certainly William remained extremely suspicious of Eustace's motives right up to the point he was crowned.

Amongst all of these claimants it is easy to forget the AngloSaxon claim, in the person of Edgar the Aethling (See fig. 3), who was in England at this time. According to Hungarian sources, Edgar and his sister Margaret were attempting to return to Hungary, when their boat was forced, during a storm, to put in to port in Scotland and Margaret met Malcolm, whom she later married. Their mother was Agatha daughter of King Stephen of Hungary and they had been brought up in Hungary (17).

William sends to Harold Godwinsson (upon Edward's death) making his claim and reminding Harold of his oath to support William's claim. Harold who has already been crowned rejects his claim. William therefore prepares to invade and sets the date for August. Meanwhile he sends Tostig to Harold Hardrada, now sole King of Norway after the death of Magnus, who takes up Magnus's claim and who also prepares to invade, together with Tostig, who is brother to Harold Godwinsson, now 'King Harold'.

It is worthwhile looking at this in some detail. Tostig, himself an Ulvungar via his mother, was married to Judith, the aunt of William of Normandy. Tostig had been disinherited from his northern Earldom by his own brother and came over to Normandy to seek William's help. William sent him to Harald Hardrada, via Flanders and I believe suggested a dual invasion with Harald landing in the North and William in the South of England, thus forcing the Anglo-Saxons to split their forces.

What was the deal? I don't know and unfortunately we shall never know for certain but I suspect that William would have let Harald re-establish the Old Danish Kingdom of York in the North whilst William became King of the rest. Maybe William would even have been prepared to make England an under-Kingdom to Denmark. It certainly makes sense, as there was very little certainty that William's invasion would succeed on its own. Remember Harald Hardrada had married into the Ulvungar dynasty and his children by Elizabeth could claim descent from Herioldus Brocus and Halfdan (See: The God Kings of Europe – Chapter 9).

*“Why is the military world so full of vain-glory,
Whose reputation is transitory?
Though the work comes from the Potter’s soul,
The vessel remains a fragile bowl.” **

(From Puck of Pook’s Hill by Rudyard Kipling)

William The Conqueror, the Normans and their families

William of Normandy, who later became known as ‘William the Conqueror’, was born in 1027 in Falaise in Normandy (1). The son of Robert I, Duke of Normandy and his mistress, Herleve and known throughout his life by his contemporaries as ‘William the Bastard’, even if it was unwise to use that term in his hearing. Herleve was the daughter of Fulbert, a Burgess and household official at the Norman court, with the title ‘Cubicularius’, which is something like the later ‘Yeoman of the Chamber’. Contrary to legend she was not the daughter of a tanner and eventually married Herluin, Vicomte de Conteville, by whom she had two sons – Robert, later Count of Mortain and Odo, later Bishop of Bayeux. No noble of that period would have married the daughter of a tanner (2). There are still historians who call Fulbert a tanner but should know better (3). I had thought this popular myth had been killed off years ago, but I still hear it proclaimed, especially on Television.

In fact it is almost certain that Fulbert and Herleve were Jews (See page 22) although this fact may have had to be kept secret and Herleve had probably been baptised.

Robert I, known either as the ‘Magnificent’ or as the ‘Devil’, dependent upon the point of view of the speaker, had almost certainly poisoned his elder brother, Richard III in order to gain the Dukedom. His father’s second wife had been Estrith, the sister of Cnut, and daughter of Sweyn Forkbeard, which gave his father a claim to both Denmark and England (4). Robert ruled for some 9 years, during which time Normandy descended into almost total anarchy, and to an extent was only saved by the intervention of the Duke’s uncle, another Robert, Archbishop of Rouen, who managed to broker a deal not only with Normandy’s main neighbour and opponent, Alan of Brittany, but also with some of Robert’s most powerful and difficult Barons. Indeed it has always been a suspicion on my part, that it was the Archbishop, who persuaded the Duke to go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, leaving his young and only son, William, to the protection of the Archbishop of Rouen and Alan of Brittany. The generally accepted idea that the Archbishop and Alan had tried to persuade Robert to stay and govern his Dukedom, but that he had firmly set his mind on a pilgrimage, has always seemed to me to smack of an early form of spin-doctoring. It seems more likely to me that the Archbishop required him to go on a pilgrimage to ‘atone for his sins’. In 1035 therefore the Duke leaves for the Holy Land and certainly reached both Jerusalem and later Byzantium, where he appears to have met the Emperor Michael IV, but died at Bithynia on his way home. William was now, aged 7 and Duke, if he could survive the attempts on his life and if the Duchy survived.

The history of Normandy is to a very large extent the history of the Vikings and in particular that of the great Ulvungar dynasty (see Genealogy of the Ulvungars). Perhaps at this point it is as well to look at their origins and the position in Europe at the time our story opens. By 500 AD the Western Roman Empire had to all intents

and purposes ceased to exist and it was now a question of who would fill the vacuum.

In the 8th, 9th and early 10th Century, what had been the Western Empire had seen a series of onslaughts. The Moslems had attacked from the south and were only turned back by Charles Martel's victory at Poitiers in 732. This victory allowed the formation of the Holy Roman Empire in 800 under Charlemagne, but still the Moslems maintained their hold on the Middle East, North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula and in the years after 827 they overran Sicily with Palermo falling in 831. It was not until 905 that the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula started under King Alfonso III of Leon and the Asturias. It would be another 200 years before the Normans conquered Sicily nominally for Christendom, but their Kingdom of Sicily combined Christianity, Islam and Judaism.

The Magyars had come from the East and had attacked and devastated Germany and indeed much of France, until 955 when they were defeated by Otto I, finally settling in Hungary and the surrounding areas. The Serbs had already separated from the Avars and had settled in Bosnia and the surrounding areas.

The Vikings, led by the descendants of the legendary God-King Uouin of Mesopotamia (Odin or Woden), having established themselves in Scandinavia and the Northern Isles had come from the North and from 787 (5) had attacked most of Europe and by the 9th. Century they had overrun all of northern Europe from Russia (6), to Iceland where they first landed in 860, to France and Britain, which they had been attacking and settling since 787. In 865 Russian Norsemen even attacked and sacked Constantinople. The Vikings had not only just attacked and gone away again, but also had established settlements and trading posts throughout the European coastline and further inland wherever there were navigable rivers. Their main areas of permanent settlement were Russia, the Orkneys, Caithness and later northern France and Britain, an early Northern Commonwealth (See [Chapter VII](#)). For example the Viking invasion of Britain in 892 consisted not just of warriors but also wives and children in a clear attempt to settle. In 981 they started the Greenland colony. By the beginning of the 10th Century they had re-established the Kingdoms of Mercia and Northumbria, as Jarldoms (Aeldorman or Earl) in England and indeed as we have seen, had become Kings of England as well as their Danish, Norwegian, Swedish and Icelandic possessions, and in France they had been granted land and titles by the last of the Carolignian rulers.

Rollo was descended from the great Norse family of Ulvungar. He together with the families of the Beaumont and Montgomery descended from Herioldus Brocus (See Genealogy [Appendix 3](#)) and at various times the members of this dynasty had been Kings or overlords of Russia, Dublin, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the Isles, Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia and effectively controlled a greater area than the Western Roman Empire under the Carolignians.

Rollo (or Hrolf the Red Ganger) was granted land in or about the lower Seine and the city of Rouen; probably with the title Count of Rouen, by Charles the Simple, King of the West Franks, in 911 at the so-called treaty of St. Clair-sur-Epte. Suffice to say that Rollo was only one of a number of Norse raiders, who were given grants of land and a title between the period, 850 – 911 AD. For example the ancestor of Roger de Montgomery, another Roger (who died in 912) was made Count of Exmes in about 893, before Rollo became Count of Rouen (7), although Rollo is referred to in Latin documents as Dux Normannorum (Duke or leader of the Normans). Two further grants were made to Rollo's descendants in 924 and 933 by Rudolf, who followed Charles, but the general theory that these grants were made under the terms of the Carolignian system and *pagi* and that the new rulers were

endowed with the powers of the Carolingian counts has now been questioned and it seems more likely that Normandy was formed by an aggressive policy on the part of Rollo's and Roger's descendants (8). (The whole question as to Rollo's names and the date of his first settlement are dealt with in detail in 'Notes on Genealogies' in the appendices).

With the expansion of the Counts of Rouen into the rest of Normandy, first under William Longsword and then under the fifty year reign of Richard, the first Count of Normandy, the Montgomerys become Vicomtes of Hiesmes instead of Counts of Exmes. The Montgomerys and the House of Normandy were already related as were the Beaumonts (see Genealogies) but the family links between them were strengthened still further when Hugh de Montgomery married Joscelina, daughter of Senfrie at the same time as Richard I of Normandy married her younger sister Gunnora . It also gave them, together with the Beaumonts, a somewhat nebulous claim to the thrones of England and Denmark (9).

The Vicomtes of the regions were responsible directly to the Norman Counts and later the Dukes for the administration of their regions. When the Montgomerys became Vicomte of Hiesmes, the Beaumonts took over their old task as castellans of Exmes, the capital of the Hiesmes region.

It is a very moot point as to the intention of the French Kings when they made these grants of land, but the general consensus is that they were intended to stop further pillages by Norsemen from Scandinavia, by giving those interested some land to call their own in return for protecting France's northern coast against their own kind. However by 980 or thereabouts the Normans had seized and were holding large tracts of what had been French land and were prepared to defend it, not just against their own kind, but against the French King if need be. I believe that this resolve was strengthened by the death in May of 987 of Louis V, the last of the Carolingians descendants of another Davidic line (*The God kings of Europe*) and the quite illegal declaration by the Archbishop of Rheims, that the throne of France was elective and not hereditary and the imposition of his candidate Hugh Capet as the new King (9a). The Church was worried about the resurgence of the 'Family'. The Normans had also become, at least on the surface, by and large 'Good sons of the Church' or at least pretended that they were; for example they did not generally any longer indulge in polygamy and were marrying into the local aristocracy and accepting their manners and culture. It is however true to say that they felt different to the French around them and never quite accepted the Carolingian ideas and system and the last of the Carolingian Kings were in no position to enforce it (10). It is also a moot point as to whether the titles 'Count of Rouen' and 'Count of Exmes' had the same inference of the Carolingian Counts. I think it likely that it was not until Rollo's descendants became and were able to enforce their rights as Counts of Normandy and the Montgomerys accepted the position and title of Vicomtes of Hiesmes that Normandy really started to take shape.

William, now 7, the age at which nobles' children were sent as pages to other nobles' households (11), could not, as a matter of protection, amongst other things, be sent to another noble's court, as the only suitable court for him would have been that of the French King, and it is doubtful if he would have survived there. It was therefore decided by his guardians that three young cousins should be brought up and educated together with William by a monk called Ralph Moine, who was proud to say that he taught them to read and write in both Latin and Norman-French (12). These cousins of William were William FitzOsbern, Roger de Montgomery, and the slightly older Roger de Beaumont. These three plus Robert d'Eu, were to become William's closest companions and confidants and the only people whom William fully trusted.

It is interesting that William's father, Duke Robert, did not take his most trusted friends with him on his pilgrimage, but rather left them to protect his son and which rather lends support to my theory regarding this pilgrimage. The principal guardians were, (apart from the Archbishop and Alan of Brittany), Osbern Herfasston the Steward, Gilbert de Brionne, Turolde of Neuf-marche, Ralph Tesson, Hugh Bishop of Avranches, Richard of St. Valery-en-Caux, Roger Vetulus, Viscounts Neil, Gozelin and Thurstin and Edward, later King of England. Robert also obtained the agreement of Henry I, King of France to the effect that William would be his successor and in 1036, William attended the French court to take his vow of fealty as the next Duke.

William survived thanks to his guardians, who not only managed his Duchy for him but kept any rebellion in check and indeed managed to enforce the Ducal rights in Lower Normandy and bring it under control in William's last year as a minor. Though according to William of Jumieges three of his guardians paid for this loyalty with their lives (Gilbert de Brionne, Turolde and his steward Osbern).

The most important victory in William's early reign was probably that of Val-es-Dunes in 1047, when William's suzerain, King Henry I of France came to his young vassal's aid. One has to wonder whether Henry regretted this at a later date, when he joined the enemies of William in 1052 and 1053.

William's uncle, another William, this time of Arques, had never accepted the succession of his brother's illegitimate, minor son and this opposition turned to rebellion. (This suggests that Papaia was a second wife and not a concubine as otherwise William of Arques would himself have been illegitimate). In 1053, Henry I, tried unsuccessfully to relieve the Castle of Arques, but was decisively beaten by William, at the battle of St.-Aubin-sur-Scie. In this battle William used the tactics of the feigned flight, which was to become so important 13 years later. Although not the end of William's troubles, the surrender of Arques and the submission of Count William was a turning point in opposition to William. The next year saw William not only victorious again, but to an extent, which sent real fears into his enemies. At the battle of Mortemer the invading army was according to William of Poitiers, decimated. At midnight William had a herald proclaim the details of the victory from the top of a tree whereupon the defeated king fled the field (13).

One of the most important prisoners captured during this battle was Count Guy de Ponthieu, a descendent of Charlemagne, who submitted to William and became his vassal. Count Guy's daughter Agnes would later marry Robert de Montgomery, eldest son of Roger de Montgomery (usually known as Robert de Belleme) (14). Importantly it was on his territory that Harold Godwinsson was shipwrecked and William was able, as a result of this submission, to demand that Harold be handed over to him. Harold was treated extremely well by William, who personally knighted him and took him on campaign with him. Whether William wanted to see how Harold behaved on campaign or whether this was simply to establish a friendship with a powerful Anglo-Saxon noble, who might help him some time in the future is unclear, indeed it may simply have been that Harold was an Ulvungar cousin. All that can be stated with certainty is that William assessed Harold's military abilities, knighted him and obtained Harold's oath that he would support William's claim to the English throne.

By 1066 therefore, William now 39 was at the height of his powers. By a series of victories and marriages he had established his rule firmly in Normandy and had seen off the threats from France, Anjou and Brittany. He had married Matilda of Flanders, apparently a love match and which gave him access to Flanders' sea power and trade. His cousin Roger de Montgomery had married Mabile of Belleme, another love match, bringing the powerful Talvais family into the Norman family fold. His

other cousins had also married into powerful families whose support would be necessary should William need to invade England.

It is worthwhile looking at little more closely at some of these marriages. Whether William had agreed a match with Matilda's father beforehand has always been a matter for speculation, but apparently when William's proposal was made to her, Matilda turned him down on account of his bastardy. William took umbrage at this and rode to Matilda's father's castle, broke in upon her, proceeded to whip her with his leather crop and then leave. This treatment apparently endeared him to Matilda so much that she promptly fell in love with him and agreed to marry him and although so small that she would be considered a dwarf by today's standards gave him four sons and six daughters. The above story may be apocryphal but shows something about William's temper and will.

Roger de Montgomery's wooing is however a matter of historical fact. The powerful Talvais family of Belleme, descended from Yves de Belleme, Governor of Creil and Grandmaster of crossbowmen, who had married Godehilde, descended from the Merovignian, Chlothar IV (15) owned not only the great fortress at Belleme but also Alençon and Domfront. As was not unusual in France of the time the Talvais owed fealty to the King for Belleme, to the Count of Maine for Domfront and to the Duke of Normandy for Alençon.

In 1051 William was busy fighting Geoffrey Martel and laid siege to Domfront which both the Bellemes and Geoffrey Martel of Maine believed impregnable. William settled down for a long siege, then typically left Roger de Montgomery in charge of the siege and made a lightning dash to Alençon, catching the town unawares and almost managing to gallop his cavalry into the town. In fact possibly some of his soldiers did manage to get in unbeknownst to the townspeople, who stupidly thinking that William could not besiege two places at once taunted William about his bastardy hanging out hides over the walls and shouting "*Hides! Hides for the Tanner!*" (It is from this event that later historians derive the idea that William's mother was the daughter of a tanner. However as I showed in 'The God Kings of Europe', what they were really saying was that William's mother was Jewish because the job of tanner was almost exclusively done by Jews at the time. Effectively they were saying 'Jew Boy come and get us!'). In any case much to the horror of the townspeople the gates were opened from the inside, either by William's soldiers or possibly a group of Tanners and William took the town.

In revenge for the insult to his mother, he had thirty-two of the leading citizens paraded in front of the townspeople and had their hands and feet cut off. William then threatened the garrison with the same fate if they did not surrender immediately. Not surprisingly the garrison surrendered and then sent a delegation to Domfront at William's orders, warning the garrison there, that they too would suffer that fate unless they surrendered as well. The men of Domfront asked for guarantees, which William gave them in return for Roger de Montgomery getting Mabile de Talvaise as his bride and with her the castles of Alençon and Bellême.

The same sort of alliances were being forged by the Beaumonts and the FitzOsborns (William Fitz Osborn had married Aeliz, daughter of Roger de Tosny) and William's halfbrother, Count of Mortain (or Mortagne) had married Maud de Montgomery. One could say that William's social, political and military structure was totally 'Family' orientated, with all those in positions of power connected to him by blood. This was a typical Davidic/Ulvunger strategy, but woe betide those who broke their oaths of loyalty. They were dealt with swiftly and ruthlessly by sword, rope or poison. The Norman Families like many modern families frequently feuded, but the difference between them and the modern family was that there was little to

stop these feuds becoming bloody in the extreme.

During William's minority Gilbert of Brionne and Fulk, the 3rd son of Giroie were both killed by Odo the Fat and Robert the 4th son of Giroie. What is more; this killing was planned by Rudolf de Gace, 2nd son of the Archbishop of Rouen, yet both Robert of Rouen and Gilbert de Brionne were guardians of the young Duke William.

At Val-es-Dunes, William's cousin of Burgundy, who thought that he should be Duke was the principal rebel aided by Hamon-aux-Dents and his brother, also William's cousins. Interestingly the battle of Val-es-Dunes was not really won by King Henry on behalf of his young vassal but by Ralph Tesson switching sides halfway through the battle and attacking Burgundy's supporters from the rear. Did Duke William engineer this switch one wonders? It is not beyond the bounds of possibilities, after all Ralph was supposed to be one of the Duke's guardians. Certainly Ralph obtained his reward by being given as his bride the daughter of William's maternal uncle, thus bringing him firmly into the family.

Another of these feuds was between the de Tosnys and Grandmesnils on the one side and the Beaumonts on the other. Roger de Tosny had earlier (1040-41) rebelled against William on account of William's bastardy. The rebellion was quickly squashed by the Beaumonts but something had to be done. The obvious solution was to form some dynastic marriages, so Hugh de Grandmesnil marries Adelise de Beaumont and just to be on the safe side William FitzOsbern, William's trusted friend and cousin, marries Aeliz de Tosny. Ralf de Tosny's daughter, Godvere meanwhile is married to another cousin, this time the son of Eustace of Boulogne, Baldwin. Although these dynastic marriages did not always work, they played an important part in securing the co-operation of these Norman magnates. There was however nothing new in this. The Scandinavians and Davidic families had been doing this for generations (See Genealogies at the end).

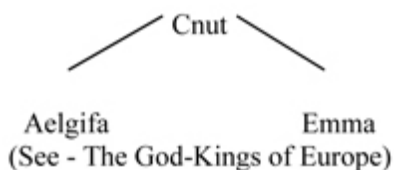
It has always struck me as amazing the way that William managed to keep Roger de Montgomery and William FitzOsbern from feuding. William de Montgomery, Roger's uncle had assassinated William FitzOsbern's father in the Duke's own bedchamber and FitzOsbern's provost had in turn killed William de Montgomery and his group of friends. Apparently William and Roger decided that honour had been satisfied and as they were both being brought up with William in the FitzOsbern household that they would be better off burying the hatchet.

I have mentioned the various brides of these magnates but what sort of women were they. Mere pawns in the marriage game, or were they players? I believe that they were much more than pawns. In my book 'The God Kings of Europe' I postulated a sacred triangle and a female descent, which carried on the knowledge of their Jewish Davidic inheritance. If we go back a couple of generations and look at Emma of Normandy we shall have a very fair idea of the way in which many of these strong minded women operated.

Emma had been extremely young when she went as a bride to Aethelred II. For her this was a major triumph. To become Queen of one of the wealthiest realms in Europe was the dream of any young girl. She was also fulfilling the dynastic requirements of the House of Normandy by an alliance with the Anglo-Saxon ruling house, which after all was in contention with the Scandinavian Ulvungars, her own family.

When Aethelred fled to Normandy, I do not suppose she was very impressed and was only too happy to become the wife of his successor Cnut. Did she know that Cnut was already married to Aelgifa of Northampton? I am sure that she did. But Aelgifa was to be left in Denmark as Regent and Emma could now resume her place

as Queen of England. The church even married them knowing that Cnut was already married. No doubt they were happy to pretend that because they had not married Aelgifa and Cnut, that marriage was non-existent or perhaps Cnut simply said *"Marry us or I'll cut your head off"*. It's amazing how quickly you can persuade people threatened with their life! The apex of the sacred triangle had been formed.



Emma was evidently a woman to take up cudgels either on her own behalf or that of her family. When Harold Harefoot took over the throne of England from her own son Harthacnut, she persuaded the Normans to launch an attack on England together with her sons by Aethelred. This attack was, unfortunately for Emma, half-hearted both by the Normans and her own son Edward, who as soon as the going got tough fled back to Normandy. It was only when her son by Cnut, Harthacnut arrived in England with a large following that she was able to regain her position as Queen Mother.

Harthacnut re-established her in a position of power, even having his brother's body dug up and thrown into a bog, no doubt egged on by Emma. Unfortunately when her son Edward came to the throne he did not much appreciate her interference, particularly as she backed Magnus for the throne against him. Maybe she thought she could persuade Magnus to marry her and make her Queen for the 3rd time. She evidently preferred her men strong. It would appear that she also took a number of lovers after Cnut's death, thereby forming the bottom half of the sacred triangle. Edward by all accounts did not much care for women. He stripped her of all her wealth and had her confined to a nunnery.

Then there was Poppa the 1st wife or again possibly mistress of Rollo I (See Genealogy I). There is little known about Poppa. You cannot even find her as a separate entry in the Encyclopaedia Britannica. According to the little information that is available, she was the daughter of Berenger of Bayeaux. Even this is not very helpful, as we know nothing about Berenger. Poppa was apparently red haired and petite and was initially a captive of Rollo on one of his raids. He apparently fell in love with her and certainly she was the only one to give him children.

Again I suspect that Rollo went through some sort of Scandinavian marriage ceremony with her, for there seems to be not the slightest hint of problems with their son, William Longsword, being illegitimate. Rollo was known as Hrolf the Ganger because he was so large that he could not find a horse big enough for him (Ganger means Horse – so he was his own horse), so we have this giant of a man apparently in love with a small bird of a woman. Yet this woman about whom we know so little was the mother of the House of Normandy. Without her there would have been no Normandy, no Dukedom and no conquest of England.

Another very important woman in the families was of course William the Conqueror's wife, Matilda. About her we know quite a lot. She was the daughter of Count Baldwin of Flanders and niece of the French King, Henry. She was brought up in her father's court in Flanders and apparently could read and write in both French

and Latin as well as Flemish. She had spent some time in the French court and was somewhat vain in her dress.

She was also by our standards, a dwarf, being only four foot two inches high. William by contrast was five foot eleven inches tall. It seems that like his ancestor Rollo he liked his ladies petite. William apparently saw her at a gathering in her father's palace and fell in love with her and asked her father for her hand. Baldwin who desperately needed allies at the time and saw in William a strong ally and warrior was only too happy to agree.

Unfortunately Matilda was not so immediately smitten and told her father that she was the daughter of a ruling count with the blood of Charlemagne in her veins and niece of the King and was not going to marry some bye-blow of an upstart Duke. The result when reported to William caused the scene that I have related earlier. There is some disagreement as to whether Matilda fell for him before their wedding or whether she came to love him after that. Certainly there was real affection between them and she was one of the few people that William trusted, making her Regent of Normandy, during his absences in England.

In fact so far as I am aware she only set foot in England once, in 1068 when she was crowned at Westminster Abbey, when the English were amazed that this tiny woman was their Queen and wife of the powerful King William. Small she may have been but she bore William four sons and six daughters. Having been brought up in the Court at Flanders she was well aware of how things were managed in the Charlemagnic tradition and brought a certain graciousness to what would otherwise have been a court of fairly rude warriors. She was also very friendly with another important lady at William's court, Mabile de Montgomery, the wife of Roger de Montgomery.

Much has been written about Mabile, most of it bad, though I suspect that a great deal of the bad press came from Ebrard de Montgomery, son of Roger by his second wife, Adeliza de Puiset. Ebrard was intensely jealous of his eldest half-brother Robert of Belleme and for some reason hated Robert's mother, Mabile. It is Ebrard who called Mabile the 'Daughter of Satan'. Ebrard was a priest and chaplain to both William II and Henry I and supported them against his own family and particularly against his half-brother Robert. Brainwashed by the Church I suppose!

Mabile was the daughter of Guillaume II de Talvas (or Tal-vaïs), the Prince of Belleme (1033-1053), by his second wife; the daughter of Raoul de Beaumont and so already had Ulvungar blood in the Family. The Talvas were not Normans in the sense that they were of Scandinavian origin. Their line descends from Yves de Belleme (d.940) who was Governor of Creil, and Grand Master of Crossbowmen. In fact the great keep at Belleme defended by these famous crossbowmen was almost impregnable. Yves had married Godehilde the four times great-grand-daughter of the Merovignian, Chlothar IV, hence the title Prince, and their son Guillaume I, had been made Seigneur of Belleme and Alençon by Robert the Pious. (See Belleme Genealogy).

Roger de Montgomery apparently became attracted to her, when she attended a court function at William's court and demanded of William her hand in marriage. The story of their wooing I have already recounted, but it would appear that once she became Roger's wife, she threw herself life and soul into promoting the Montgomery cause including, according to some authorities, not being above administering a little poison, when it seemed to be required. One must however be careful about these accusations of poison. If you read the stories carefully, some at least read more like food poisoning. With little or no hygiene in the 11th century I can only say that I am surprised that more people didn't die from it.

She was also not afraid of putting herself in the front line. When Roger was away in England, she not only acted as his Regent, and when Montgomery lands were attacked, herself donned mail and led the Montgomery troops into battle. Unfortunately this also led to her downfall and she was killed at the Chateau de Bures-sur-Dives in 1082.

One of the interesting things about the Talvas is that although they were not pagan in the way that the Scandinavian ancestors of the Normans were pagans, worshipping Odin and Thor they were members of a non-Roman church. It is not clear whether they were Jewish or Cathars or what seems most likely according to latest research members of a Judaic-Christian sect called the Elchasaites, after the followers of Elchasai, the mentor of Mani (16). I suspect that to Ebrard, a pious clerk, this was not just heresy, but the dark workings of Satan, hence his calling her 'Daughter of Satan'.

William's mother too was by all accounts a strong character. She was the daughter of Fulbert, a burgess and household official at the Norman Court whose title 'Cubicularius' was something like Yeoman of the chamber or perhaps even Chamberlain. There are those who say that if this was so then why did Robert not marry her but I think this is looking with modern eyes at the question. If Robert was married or at the very least handfasted to Estrith, the half-sister of Cnut then there was no way in which he could, get rid of Estrith without causing enormous offence to both the Danish and English Royal Families, the senior Ulvungar lines, and the Church by now would not accept polygamy. If she was a Jewess, as I have indicated, it is probable that the Church would have been against so powerful a union. This being so he had to get rid of Herleve. I believe that he agreed to her marrying one of his staunchest, but not very powerful vassal, Herluin, Vicomte de Conteville in return for not inconsiderable advancement and agreed that their sons would be advanced as if they were his own. I believe also that this was one of the reasons for him agreeing to go on a pilgrimage. In the event it was left to his illegitimate son, William to advance his legitimate half-brothers.

Until Robert decided to make William his heir, shortly before leaving for Jerusalem, William had lived mostly with his mother and her family. After this he was to spend most of his young life under the roof of the Osberns. That Herleve was held in high esteem as were her brothers is attested to by the fact that her brothers actually acted as attestors to a charter of the infant William and she herself was made a guardian for Matilda by the Count of Flanders. Very much the sort of thing done by a modern Chamberlain. Her two sons by Herluin became Counts and Earls in their own right, one of them Robert, Count of Mortain marrying back into the Ulvungar Family by marrying Maud de Montgomery, one of Roger de Montgomery's daughters. According to some researchers Herleve married again on the death of Herluin.

Duke William also had a full sister, Adele, who had married Enguerrand, the son of Count Hugh of Pontieu and his wife Berta of Aumale. They had one daughter Ada. When Enguerrand was ambushed and killed in 1053, Adele married Lambert of Lens, younger brother of Count Eustace II of Boulogne. Lambert was killed in his turn in 1054 but not before he managed to father another daughter, Judith. After his death Adele still very young married for a third time this time to Odo of Champagne, by whom she had a son, Stephen. (17).

William therefore had been concerned to keep Pontieu under his control. First by marrying Adele to Enguerrand and then by marrying Robert de Belleme to Agnes. He also later, after the conquest had to try to keep the remaining Anglo-Saxons happy and bestowed the hand of his beloved niece, Judith on the one person, who

via both Danish and Anglo-Saxon descent could legitimately claim the throne, namely Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon. Waltheof was by all accounts handsome, but it would seem not to Judith's liking after the marriage, indeed according to some Judith hated him. They had three daughters, Maud born in 1074, Alice in 1075 and Judith about 12 to 18 months later. Judith lived up to her Norman ancestry and when her chance came she took it.

Waltheof attended or possibly hosted a wedding feast for Emma, the daughter of William FitzOsbern and Ralf de Gael. The wedding, at Exning in Cambridgeshire, apparently was against the Duke's wishes. Not only that, but at the meeting a plan was hatched by Ralf de Gael and Roger of Hereford, the brother of the bride and son of William FitzOsbern and Waltheof to overthrow William and restore an Anglo-Saxon (Waltheof?) to the throne. Waltheof apparently lost his courage and blabbed the whole story to William. The rebellion was crushed. Ralf escaped with his bride and went on crusade, dying in the Holy Land. Roger FitzOsbern was blinded and spent the rest of his life in prison (Note, once again the blinding). Waltheof would have escaped scot-free and been given rewards by William were it not for Judith. She accused her own husband in front of the Witanagemot. They declined to find Waltheof guilty, so she then accused him in front of the Norman Barons. They found him guilty in 1076 and condemned him to death. The execution followed quickly and Waltheof was beheaded on the last day of May. Judith had had her revenge (18).

Roger de Montgomery had both brothers and a sister. The latter whose name was it is thought Matilda, was married to Charles le Ufroy, who together with Roger and his son, Robert of Belleme designed and were responsible for building the great castle at Gisors. (See Genealogy-Montgomery, Counts of Belleme). Gisors was in fact an updated version of Belleme and the vision of Gisors can be seen clearly by studying the remains of the two castles concerned.

This then was the 'Family', which prepared for their greatest test in January of 1066.

* *"Cur mundus militat sub vana gloria
Cujus prosperitas est transitoria?
Tam cito labitur ejus potentia
Quam vasa figuli quae sunt fragilia."*

Chapter Three

*“I followed my Duke ere I was a lover,
To take from England fief and fee”*

(From Puck of Pook's Hill by Rudyard Kipling)

Preparation for the Invasion by William and the Normans

William, as soon as he hears of Edward's death, sends a message to both Harold and Edward's Norman barons claiming the throne and reminding Harold of his oath. Harold by the time he receives this message has already been proclaimed King as Harold II and he therefore rejects William's claim. William now prepares to invade and sets his date for August.

There are however two others who have also decided to claim the throne. Harold Hardrada, King of Norway who takes up Magnus's claim and Sweyn Estrithsson, King of Denmark (see [Chapter 1](#)). Harold Hardrada did not initially take up Magnus's claim until persuaded by Tostig, the brother of 'King' Harold, for reasons of his own (1). It is my opinion that William either sent Tostig to Harald to ask for Harald's help with a pincer movement invasion from both North and South to divide Harold Godwinson's forces and was prepared to divide England or had in mind some sort of sharing arrangement. Harald was after all married to an Ulvungar.

Sweyn Estrithsson, who had suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Harold Hardrada, was not really in a position to do more than posture and was more than happy to accept William's overtures on the basis that if William is successful then he, Sweyn will give up his claim to William, presumably for some pecuniary benefit. Though it should be mentioned that he did attempt an invasion later on.

Harold Hardrada on the other hand has to be taken very seriously and he raises an army and fits out the necessary ships to invade England. The difference between the methods of preparation of the two invaders could not be greater.

William's preparation was more akin to a modern General, with a General staff and Inner circle and with allied troops controlled by his men or at the very least with liaison men to see that his orders were carried out.

William's Staff and Inner Circle consisted entirely of Family:

Robert de Beaumont who was to remain behind as Head of the Regency Council to assist the Duchess, Matilda together with Hugh d'Avranches.

Robert d'Eu was in charge of the advanced camp at Saint-Valery.

William FitzOsbern was in charge of Logistics once they reached England.

Roger de Montgomery was in charge of Logistics and Strategy at the assembly point in Dives.

It is also worthwhile looking at the Logistics that William and his 'General Staff' had to overcome. William had to bring together a large Army of diverse backgrounds. Not only Norman but also Breton, Flemish, Boulagnaise and assorted French and other mercenaries from all over Europe. They had to be assembled at

Dives and provided with tents, wine or beer, bread and meat etc. Metal Smiths and Armourers had to be on hand to shoe horses and mend or make the chain mail, helmets and to repair swords and lances. Bowmakers and fletchers had to be provided as well as barber surgeons.

Fig. 2



The Bayeux Tapestry shows men cutting down trees and making boats which were to be assembled at Dives and then only moved to St. Valery prior to embarkation (see map 1). The reasons for choosing Dives were several. Firstly it gave on to the Caen hinterland from which would come the corn, meat etc. needed to support the troops. Secondly it had a harbour with a natural barrier, which protected it and ships moored there from not only storms but from prying eyes and thirdly it made attack on the ships from the seaward side very difficult. (Regretfully this harbour barrier no longer exists). William expected Harold to have spies in his camp and possibly to mount an attack on his, William's, ships before they could put to sea.

How many men, horses and ships did William have? I'm afraid we don't actually know and figures vary widely from as little as 5,000 to a many as 50,000 men, but I believe that the most likely number was somewhere between 10,000 to 17,000 and probably divided as follows:

3,000–4,000 Mounted men (Knights, men-at-arms & Serjeants),
 6,000–8,000 Foot, about 1,000 – 2,000 Archers and cross-bowmen and anything from 1,000 – 3,000 support staff (2).

It is worthwhile looking at what these figures mean in terms of logistics and what was achieved. Let us take the number of 3,000 horses for a start. If you are going on an expedition such as this and you are going to depend on your Destrier in battle you would want him shod before embarkation. In those days they used 15oz. horseshoes and each of those had 6 nails to hold them on. The horse shoes themselves plus the nails to hold them on all had to be hand made; $(6 \times 4 \times 3,000 = 72,000 \text{ nails}) + (4 \times 3,000 = 12,000 \text{ horseshoes}) = \text{some 8 Tons of Iron (3)}$.

How many Smiths would have to be employed to produce these? I have got no idea but I suspect a great number. I imagine a separate village of Blacksmiths each with his furnace, anvil and hammers. I can see the apprentices unbanking the fires early in the morning, getting out the bellows and starting the furnaces going, whilst others would go to the river to fetch water in large wooden pails ready for the Iron to be quenched as the master blacksmith fashioned the horseshoes in rough or perhaps the greater blacksmiths used journeymen or their own apprentices in the early stages and only themselves actually did the shoeing. The noise, the smoke and the bustle around this village must have been amazing and had probably never been seen before. Prof. McLynn calculated that it would have taken ten blacksmiths,

working a ten-hour day, the whole of August just to shoe the horses, so we have to be looking at double that number, even if some were apprentices.

Then there would be the Horselines. The great Destriers would need cover and constant attention. They would have to be exercised daily. They would have to be fed.

Each Destrier would require 5,5 kilos of grain per day ($5,5 \times 3,000 = 16,500$ kilos of grain EACH & EVERY DAY they were at Dives). Plus fresh water by the ton.

But horses also get rid of large amounts of waste. Anyone who has looked after horses will know. I believe someone calculated that Roger de Montgomery's staff had to organise the disposal of some 5,000 cartloads of Manure and some 3,182,000 litres

In the days of proper British Cavalry regiments, one of the questions that all young subalterns had to answer to pass their Captaincy exam was "*How often does a horse defecate per 24 hours and how much manure does it produce?*" Now I realise why they used to ask that question!

The real success of this organisation was that there was no disease, except for the odd case of French pox. Compare this to the Crimea 800 years later when more perished from disease than those who were killed in action.

Imagine too the great tented encampments for the troops! There would be on average 10 men per tent so for 10,000 men (The Knights & Barons would have had their own), you would require 1,000 – 1,500 tents and each tent consisted of 36 hides stitched together (36,000-54,000 hides) and probably made from the hides of the animals slaughtered for meat. Each group would have been assigned tents according to how they were going to embark or around the flag of the leader under whom they would serve.

I mentioned earlier the Bayeux Tapestry showing trees being felled to be turned into ships and one would like to know how many ships there were. Wace for example writing in 1150 quotes the figure of 696 vessels, but most historians disagree with this figure. We do not even know what types of vessels were available to William or what type he could build in the time, but we can make some informed guesses.

Some would have been cargo vessels, which regularly plied the trade between France/Flanders and Britain or as far as Scandinavia. These he would have requisitioned. It is most likely this type of vessel that would have been used to carry the horses and stores and probably the grooms to look after the horses. This type of boat would transport between 5-10 horses plus fodder, saddlery etc. and the men to look after them plus probably some archers or men-at-arms as protection. Let us say a maximum of 10 horses, 10 grooms and 10 archers/infantry. So for 3,000 horses you need at least 300 plus boats. However some of the boats would have been much larger. There is no reason to suppose that the Normans had lost the art of shipbuilding of their Viking ancestors and we know that the average Viking longboat had a fighting crew of 90 (See for example the excavation of the Gokstad ship in Norway (4)) and Olaf Tryggvason's ship 'The Long Serpent' had a crew of 300. It is equally likely however that many vessels would have been smaller, perhaps taking only 30-50 men. Again if we average at say 80 then we need 125 vessels to transport 10,000. Add to this a lower average for the number of horses per vessel and the fact that there may well have been more than 3,000 horses then perhaps Wace's figure of 696 was not so wrong after all.

Let us now look at how the force was constituted and who were William's allies and commanders. It must be emphasised that this was not a feudal host, indeed

many of William's Barons flatly refused to go abroad saying that this was not part of their feudal obligation. William FitzOsbern was appointed by the Barons to take their arguments to William, but FitzOsbern persuaded them to agree to his acting with their 'de facto' power of attorney, which was foolish, as they knew he was not only William's close cousin but that he was totally loyal to William. There is some disagreement about what then happened, but at all events the Barons finished up not only agreeing to go with William, but even agreeing to provide twice their quota of men that they would have had to as a purely feudal host (5). In return they would be granted land and titles in England. It was in fact the first venture capital joint stock unlimited company formed for a particular enterprise, namely 'The Conquest of England Company unlimited.'

Who else was providing troops? Well, William's father-in-law, the Count of Flanders for one, though he did not himself go over to England with William. Then there was of course, Eustace of Boulogne whose own hope of claiming the throne for his family evaporated with the death of Godgifu without heirs. He took over a large group of Boulognaise and although given a command by William on the right wing of his host, William took the precaution of appointing Roger de Montgomery as joint commander of the right wing with I suspect a brief to keep a watch on Eustace. Roger commanded not only the knights and men at arms from his own domains, including the contingent of Belleme crossbowmen, but also the contingent of Roger de Beaumont, who had to stay behind as part of the Regency Council. The Beaumont contingent was led by Roger's son who made a considerable name for himself at Hastings.

There was also Viscount Aimeri de Thouars, from the Aquitaine. Aimeri is interesting for a number of reasons. First he was almost certainly a descendent of the Nasi or ruler of Septimania under Pepin the short and Charlemagne. His seal was apparently a Lion Rampant with a star above it (See [appendix 15](#)). Pepin's sister Adela had married the Nasi or Prince of Septimania and Charlemagne had married a daughter of the Nasi (6). The Normans and the Aquitainians had intermarried as well and at the time he and William were cousins and the Normans had helped their kinsmen fighting against the Saracens on the border there (A continuation of the policy of Peppin and Charlemagne). Thouars was a fortified town commanding the river Thouet and the main routes between Aquitaine and Poitou. Aimeri was a very powerful lord controlling some 17 castles, hundreds of square miles of territory and scores of noble vassals. He became such an important part of what Professor McLynn calls the 'Crusade', that he won his place amongst the 'Companions of the Conqueror' (7).

I suspect also that many of his knights would have been descendants of the famed Jewish warriors of Septimania, (8) who would perhaps have seen the conquest of England as a chance to start again in a new land away from church persecutions and problems, which had started to become serious as the powers of the Church increased and the last of the Carolignians descended into chaos and William would be a King who was sympathetic to them. Certainly William invited Jews to come and settle in England and they remained there in one form or another during the period of the Norman Kings. They were even called by the Norman Kings 'His Jews' (9).



The above were William's allies. Who then were his commanders in the field? Apart from obviously, William himself, in overall command, and Eustace and Aimeri in charge of their own contingents there were the following: Robert of Mortain, William's half-brother who married Maud de Montgomery; Hugh de Montfort, one of the great Barons of Normandy; William FitzOsbern, William's cousin, who married Aeliz de Tosny; Ralf de Tosny, whose daughter Godvere was to marry Count Eustace's son, Baldwin, later King of Jerusalem; Hugh de Grandmesnil, married to Adelise de Beaumont; Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, William's other half-brother; Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances; Walter Giffard and Roger de Montgomery. Each and every one was related to the other either by blood or by marriage. It is also interesting to note that at least two of the military commanders, Odo and Geoffrey were churchmen. According to the Church they must not shed Christian blood and in order to overcome this, the bishops used maces to crack open the heads of their opponents but did not use a sword, thus theoretically not shedding blood directly. The Bayeux tapestry shows Odo using a mace.

The Army arrived at the mustering point at Dives on the 4th. & 5th. August and remained there for a month until about 8th. -10th, of September, when they moved to the advance camp at Saint-Valery (See map).

Historians seem to disagree as to the reason for William's long wait at Dives. One of the main reasons given was that the wind was against him. The problem for modern readers is that we are fed daily with a surfeit of weather charts on television, and we are perfectly well aware that there is a continental weather system that embraces Northern Europe, the British Isles and Scandinavia. We also know that Harold Hardrada had to wait. Now it is simply impossible to imagine that if Harold did not have an offshore wind from North to South then there must have been an offshore wind from South to North. They cannot both have had unfavourable winds!

What therefore was the real reason? We don't actually know, but I suspect that William was waiting for information. We know that Tostig, his uncle by marriage, was with Harald Hardrada and if I am correct in my surmise that a double invasion was planned then both Harald and William would have been waiting for

confirmation that the other's fleet was ready. Thereafter it would be up to the winds. Nor do I think that all the vessels were ready much before the beginning of September.

We know that Edward the Confessor had appointed many Normans to positions of power in England. We can readily believe that the Anglo-Saxon, King Harold would be busy replacing them and that therefore they would act as a fifth column or spies for William. Now I believe that William was aware that (a) Harold had summoned out the Fyrd (Anglo Saxon army) and that (b) he had his ships patrolling the approaches to the English coast-line. William would also expect Harold to try to spy on him.

In fact we know that he had captured some spies of Harold because he let one go deliberately (10). Furthermore he had already arranged with Tostig to mount, a probing raid on the Isle of Wight in May with help from Flanders. So Tostig goes to Denmark and gains Hadrada's agreement to a joint invasion waits to see that Hadrada is getting ready and agrees a probable date. He then, either himself, comes back to William, or more likely sends a messenger and mounts his mini-invasion probing for King Harold's response. King Harold's response is fast and overwhelming and Tostig retires to Scotland to await Harold Hadrada. At least one scholar has suggested that William originally intended also to invade using the Isle of Wight. Perhaps this was so. Perhaps he let Tostig use this method to see if it was feasible, but bluntly this is speculation.

William had his own spies, we even know the name of one of them, Robert fitz Wimarc (11) and would know that Harold had to disband the Fyrd (a) because they were required to bring in the harvest but (b) more importantly Harold's commissariat was not the equal of William's and by the end of August he had no longer the wherewithal to feed them. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says "*The mens provisions were gone, and no one could hold them there any longer. Then the men were allowed to go home and the King rode inland and the ships were sent to London and many perished before they came there.*" (12). Harold disbands the Fyrd at the end of August or first week in September. I see a fast ship leaving England with the news and reaching William by end of that week.

William acts at once and moves to his advanced base at St. Valery between 8th. – 10th. September 1066. Again he waits and again there are those who maintain he was waiting for the wind, but this simply cannot be so. Harald Hadrada had sailed from Norway at the end of August and after various stops on route by way of the Orkneys and including harrying the coast of Scotland arrived in England and entered the Humber estuary on or about the 18th or 19th September. Now some of the winds which favoured him would also have favoured William, though I have to admit that of course the Viking longboats were also propelled a great deal of the time by oars, which we are fairly certain was not the case with many of William's ships. More importantly is the fact that it is highly unlikely that a weather front against William would have lasted that long at that time of year. William was either awaiting confirmation that Hadrada had sailed or deliberately allowed Hadrada to strike first and bear the brunt, so as to allow William to land unopposed.

Again I feel that William had a spy in Harold's camp and that as soon as Harold got wind of Harald Hadrada's landing, and William learns of Harold's decision to go north, then William decides to sail. NOW he has to wait for the weather. He eventually sails on 27th. September 1066. Two days after the battle of Stamford Bridge, but he does not yet know that. Is he going to face Harold Godwinsson or has Harald Hadrada, the greatest warrior of his day won, backed perhaps by Tostig or worse still have the brothers Godwinsson come to an agreement and will he face the

combined might of the two armies, West-Saxon and Dane/ Norwegian? The die is cast and there is no turning back!

*“What is a woman that you forsake her,
And the hearth-fire and the home-acre,
To go with the old grey Widow-maker?”*

(Harp song of the Dane Women from Puck of Pook's Hill by Rudyard Kipling)

The Invasions

Most people regard the Norman Invasion as the only one that happened in 1066, but in point of fact there were three invasions of England in that year. The first by Tostig the brother of Harold Godwinsson, the second by Harald Hardrada and Tostig combined and the third and only successful one by William.

Tostig was the younger brother of Harold Godwinsson and had married Judith, the sister of the Count of Flanders, and had been a firm favourite of King Edward, who made him Earl of Northumbria. It was the first time that an Anglo-Saxon and member of the powerful Godwin family had been given a northern Earldom and it created considerable opposition on the part of the northern magnates and particularly the Bamburgh family. This indeed shows the divisions between the Danish families and the Anglo-Saxon ones. Edward never really managed to integrate the two rival powers in his Kingdom.

Tostig is an interesting person in that he was apparently, like his mentor Edward, particularly pious and appears to have been devoted to his wife, unlike his brother Harold with all his mistresses. He was also determined to bring justice to the north and to reduce the powers of the local lords who acted more like bandits than nobles. He probably also was encouraged by Edward, who perhaps saw him as his successor. Why he fell out with his brother Harold is uncertain, though I suspect that Harold may well have already been plotting to seize England on Edward's death and saw Tostig as a potential rival. Harold therefore did not support his brother when the northern magnates rose in rebellion and demanded that Morcar replace Tostig as Earl of Northumbria.

When Edward died and Harold usurped the throne, he confirmed Morcar as Earl. Tostig, who felt aggrieved at his treatment by his brother Harold, arrived at the Court of William in Normandy and requested help. Tostig's wife, Judith, was the aunt of Matilda, William's Duchess. William whilst sympathetic and realising that Tostig could help him either, by diverting Harold's attention and possibly inflict damage on Harold's troops, or better still could be instrumental in getting either Esthrithson or Hardrada to mount a joint effort and really weaken Harold for him. William sent Tostig with some help to his kinsman the Count of Flanders, who apparently lent Tostig some vessels and presumably some money. At all events Tostig sailed for Denmark, where he met with Sweyn Estrithson. Some authorities say he tried to convince Sweyn to help him and when this was unsuccessful sailed for Norway and the Court of Harald Hardrada. I wonder however if he made an agreement between William and Sweyn that Sweyn would not claim the throne if William was successful. It certainly makes more sense. He then sailed for Norway.

It is far from clear what happened there but apparently Tostig managed to overcome Harald Hardrada's initial rejection of the idea of an invasion and Harald agreed to call out his forces and to meet Tostig at the end of July or beginning of August north of the Humber. Tostig then sailed back to Flanders where his second-

in-command, Copsig had assembled a fleet of at least 60 ships and men and from where he would have sent a messenger to William.

Tostig now launched the first of the three invasions in May, by attacking and capturing the Isle of Wight and forcing its inhabitants to provide food and money. From here he sailed for Sandwich where he made another landfall and started to make a more permanent settlement. His brother now King Harold, marched to Sandwich with his troops and Tostig's forces took to their ships and stood off the coast. To me this 'Invasion' was more of a probing raid to test Harold's defences and reactions and report back to William.

Tostig then decided to sail North, up to the Humber, where he tried to take over his old Earldom but is defeated by the Earls Morcar and Edwin. Morcar was the very Earl whose support by King Harold against Tostig had alienated Tostig and caused Tostig's thirst for revenge.

We know practically nothing of this battle, except that Tostig sailed into the Humber with 60 ships and sailed out with only 12, which means that one way or another Tostig had lost over 1000 men and which could have made all the difference had he kept them until Harold Hardrada arrived. Tostig then sailed north to take refuge with Malcolm of Scotland and await Hardrada.

The second Invasion was by Harald Hardrada. I have used the Scandinavian spelling 'Harald' for Harald Hardrada and 'Harold' for Harold Godwinsson or King Harold.

It is worthwhile to look quickly at the person of Harald Hardrada. I have devoted a complete chapter to him in *The God Kings of Europe* so will merely give some basic information here. He was born Harald Sigurdsson and nearly lost his life in his first major battle when the forces of King Olaf Haraldsson, his halfbrother, were annihilated at the battle of Stiklestad. Harald was rescued by one Rognvald Brusisson and was looked after by some peasants until his wounds had healed. Thereafter he made first for Kiev, where he found refuge with Prince Yaroslav, previously Grand Duke of Novgorod and the son of Vladimir Monakh and who had come to power with the help of Norse warriors.

Here Harald fought successfully against the Poles and East Wends, but then, according to the Sagas, asked for the hand of Elizabeth, the daughter of Yaroslav, when she became of marriageable age. Yaroslav was dismissive of this young warrior, saying that he must achieve fame and fortune before he could be considered as a suitable husband for Elizabeth. I suggested in the *God Kings*, that Yaroslav may have made a bargain with Harald whereby should he obtain intelligence for Yaroslav, which would allow Yaroslav to sack Byzantium then Harald would be rewarded with Elizabeth's hand. Harald therefore set out for Byzantium where he joined the famed Varangian Guard of Norse mercenaries.

Harald fought his way up from a Varangian mercenary to senior commander of the Imperial Varangian Guard and by 1042 had not only become a legend, but also had amassed an enormous fortune. How he got this fortune out of Byzantium is in itself an epic saga, but at all events in 1043, Harald together with a loyal following escaped from Byzantium with his treasure and made his way through the Black Sea and then on to Kiev. It is not part of this book to go into the defeat of Yaroslav's fleet by the Byzantines, sufficient to say that Harald married Elizabeth, thus making him a relation to many of the Royal Houses of Europe. Yaroslav's younger son married the Emperor Constantine's daughter, and Yaroslav's daughter Anna was married to King Henry of France (1031-60) and Anastasia to King Andrew of Hungary.

He was thus at age 28 already the most famous warrior of his age. On his return

to Norway Harald persuaded his nephew Magnus that he should become joint King and upon Magnus's death assumed the overall Kingship. As part of his consolidation of power he married Thora, the daughter of Arnmodling family head, Thorberg Arnesson of Giske, though still married to Elizabeth. Once again the sacred triangle; though polygamy was not unusual amongst the Vikings. This then was the second man who set sail to conquer England in August of 1066.

Again we do not know with any degree of certainty how large a force Harald had assembled, but best estimates would seem to put his fleet at between 200 to 500, so if we take an average of say 350 and multiply that by an average of 60 men per ship then we have an invasion force of some of some 21,000 men all of them warriors (1). This force is much larger than the force assembled by William, but there is one crucial difference. There may have been a few horses with Hardrada's force, but even so the warriors fought on foot, as did the Anglo-Saxon Housecarls.

Harald now sails first to the Shetland Isles and then on to the Orkneys where he leaves his first wife, Elizabeth and their daughters Maria and Ingigerd in the care of the Orkney Islanders. His second wife, Thora and their son Magnus, whom he appointed Regent in his absence, are left in Norway. It seems likely therefore that after conquering England, with or without William, he was going to transfer his seat of government to England or the Orkneys and leave Magnus as sub-king in Norway.

Besides Tostig, Harald had other allies, namely Paul and Erland the sons of Thorfinn, also Godfrey, the son of Harald the Black, who joined him in the Orkneys. It must be remembered that Paul and Erland Thorfinnson were also distant cousins of William, being members of the Ulvungar dynasty.

They then sailed for England, via Scotland and made their first landfall near Cleveland, where they sacked Scarborough. They also defeated a large force sent by the Earls Morcar and Edwin near to Holderness. They then sailed on until they entered the Humber estuary, where they met up with the remnants of Tostig's group.

Harald now anchored at Riccall and leaving a strong guard in charge of Olaf and Eystein Orri, set out with Tostig to march to York. They presumably wished to repeat the success of Ragnald, who took York in 912 and reestablished the Viking kingdom of York, first founded by Halfdan, son of Ragnar Lothbrook (or Ragnhail) in 875. This was actually a very good strategy, as that part of England was still extremely loyal to the memory of Cnut's descendents and was anti the Godwin family. The problem was that Tostig himself was a Godwin and not exactly popular.

On the 20th September 1066 about half a mile from York, at Fulford Gate, Harald came upon the main strength of Edwin and Morcar, drawn up across the road with their right flank on the river and their left flank on a boundary ditch next to boggy ground. In this way they could not be outflanked. At first Edwin and Morcar's warriors met with success, but then Harald and his picked warriors smashed into the Saxons' right wing and after a ferocious hand to hand battle the Saxons broke and fled. The slaughter that followed was devastating. Many Saxons drowned in the river Ouse or became trapped in the boggy ground that they had hoped to use to their advantage. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles only say that Harald was victorious, but other authorities say that there were so many killed and drowned that the Danes were able to walk across the bodies as if on dry land (2).

On the 24th September, York formally surrendered. Harald treated the town's inhabitants lightly and it seemed likely that he was ready to have himself crowned King of the Old Danish Kingdom based at York (3). It appears also that most of the Northern Counties at least tacitly supported Harald and indeed it may well have been the fear of seeing his Kingdom divided that sent King Harold north by forced

marches.

It must be assumed that Harold had been informed of Harald Hardrada's landfall at Riccall and his defeat of Edwin and Morcar's forces and I would assume that he had been informed of the submission of York on his way north as he arrived at Tadcaster late on September 24th.

Meanwhile Hardrada had agreed to receive the submission of all the local magnates at Stamford Bridge, on the Derwent, a tributary of the Ouse, and had marched there from his camp at Riccall, where he had left all the booty and tributes he had collected, and where he left the majority of his force to guard it including Olaf, Paul and Erland Thorfinsson. He therefore only had with him a small force, perhaps 5,000 men in all and they were lightly armed with only swords and bows, no mail or shields. Why Harald, who had trained in the Varangian Guard, should be so silly as to have his men only lightly armed and why his military intelligence did not inform him of Harold's approach is one of the major questions of history. On such chance happenings does the outcome of history depend.

It seems likely that Harold Godwinsson left Tadcaster at about 6am on 25th September arriving in York early in the morning. We do not know how York received him, having made submission to Hardrada only the day before, but at all events they did not oppose him. Learning that Hardrada was to receive the submission of the local magnates at Stamford Bridge Harold decided to march directly there, hoping to catch Harald and Tostig unawares.

Apparently the first inkling that Hardrada had of Harold's approach was when he saw the dust of Harold's army over the brow of the hill. The Sagas recount the most wonderful series of verbal stand-offs, many of which I feel sure did not take place, though it is without doubt that some sort of pre-battle exchange would have happened. It is likely that Harold and a small body of Housecarls rode over to parley. It is also likely that Harold offered Tostig his Earldom back, as Edwin and Morcar were shown to be broken reeds. Tostig then asked what would happen to Hardrada and when Harold replied that Hardrada could only expect a grave then Tostig turned his back on his brother and refused to betray Hardrada. It is interesting that Tostig is shown up as the perfect knight and perhaps why King Edward had favoured him. McLynn even goes so far as to call him "*sans peur et sans reproche*" (4).

The battle was now joined, with the Danes defending the bridge, to try to deny the Saxons the opportunity of using their greater numbers until help could arrive from the vessels at Riccall. The story goes, that one giant Norwegian defended the bridge almost on his own and killed over forty men with his battle axe, until the Saxon's, tired of being denied the use of their greater numbers, sent a man with a spear under the bridge in a boat and stabbed the giant in the foot, whereupon he was overcome and the Saxons were able to rush the bridge. It was mid-afternoon by the time the Saxons could cross the bridge and engage the Danes in hand-to-hand combat.

Hardrada, epic poet to the last, dictates a short poem to his scribe:

*"We march forward in our battle hordes,
Without our mail to meet dark swords,
Though helmets shine,
I have not mine,
Our armour lies on our ships' boards." ****

Harald without helmet or mail soon met his death. **An epic death for an epic**

warrior.

He was the last great Viking Warrior, who made his name in personal combat in the old way, on foot and with a poem on his lips. It is very difficult for a modern reader to appreciate just what the death of Harald Hardrada meant. He was a hero in the sense of Beowulf or the great Irish hero Cuchulain. Rough yet gentle going into battle knowing he will be slain but going with a song on his lips. *"How are the Mighty fallen in the midst of the Battle!"*

At this point there was a lull in the battle and Harold offered terms to the Norsemen if they would surrender, but his brother Tostig showed the courage which made him *sans peur et sans reproche*. Taking his stand by Hardrada's standard, *Land-Ravager*, he defied his brother. His men gave a shout of defiance and the battle was joined again. By all accounts this second part of the battle was even bloodier than the first. Tostig himself was killed and most of his men slaughtered, but the Saxons themselves took heavy casualties. Indeed almost they lost the battle, for they were resting after what they had thought of as victory, when they were attacked from their right-wing by Eystein Orri who now arrived from Riccall with reinforcements.

As soon as the message reached Orri that Hardrada was under attack, his men donned their mail and with swords and shields set out to come to Hardrada's assistance. It took him however some 3 hours to reach the battlefield as he had to find a new approach and came via Catton to Stamford Bridge. Although tired by the march in sweltering heat yet they charged upon the Saxons. This charge was to become famous as the 'Storm of Orri' and very nearly succeeded in breaking Harold's line. The Saxons however rallied and fought the Norse to a standstill. This part of the battle lasted until nightfall by which time Orri and all the other leaders were dead. Under cover of darkness the remaining Norse crept away and returned to their ships. Paul and Erland had evidently been left to guard the ships, as after the battle they returned to the Orkneys with Prince Olaf. Harold was left in possession of the field, but the cost to him in killed and wounded seriously weakened him for his encounter with Duke William.

By all accounts Harold was in the middle of a victory celebration when the news was brought to him of William's landing. One can imagine the scene. Harold sitting in a high-backed chair much like a throne surrounded by his housecarls all raising their drinking horns to him:

"Skall – the great warrior! Skall – the slayer of the great Hardrada! Skall – to the King!"

Suddenly a dusty and tired messenger enters the hall and falls to his knees at Harold's feet:

"Sire – The Norman's have landed"

There is a hush, as the men stop their boasting, to listen to the words of the messenger.

The carousing stops, though I suppose some warriors will have continued, but most will have realised there was to be no rest. Far from Victory they now have to face the third invasion, this time by the mail clad horsemen of Duke William.

William's forces landed at Pevensey, on the coast, just south of Hastings, on 28th September 1066, three days after the battle of Stamford Bridge. The beach was undefended, as Harold had pulled his troops out of Pevensey to help him against Hardrada at Stamford Bridge. Pevensey was ideal for the landing. It had docks and fortifications since Roman times and William was able to land 3000 battle ready troops in a single afternoon.

At this point William still does not know whom he will have to face, but one

assumes that he obtained information fairly quickly and prepared to meet Harold. He moved to Hastings and built a motte and bailey surround there. He would have known that he was on Harold's personal territory and deliberately set about harrying the countryside, burning down homesteads and forcing people from their homes, taking their livestock etc. This had two distinct advantages. It meant that Harold would be faced with a whole tide of refugees that he would have to feed. It would reflect badly on him as a King and particularly because his private land was Wessex, if he did not defend his people and it provided William with fresh meat and corn.

Harold when told of this new threat decides to move from York to London and arrives in London on 6th October. He leaves Edwin and Morcar, the defeated Earls to try to get together as many as possible and to join him in London. In London he takes council and decides against the advice of his own brothers to march to Hastings and try to surprise William just as he had surprised Hardrada.

Leofwine, his brother, had urged him to let him, Leofwine, lead their forces whilst Harold stayed behind to recruit more men and bring them up in support or should Leofwine be overcome at least Harold would have the chance of having a second crack at William. But William had well judged Harold's temperament and had surmised that if he, William caused enough havoc in Harold's own back yard then Harold would rush to the rescue; and so it proved. Harold decided on an all or nothing battle.

Harold gathered together all those troops he could muster in time. They consisted of his Housecarls, who it must be remembered had already fought what amounted to two battles, first against Hardrada and Tostig and then against Orri. They would have lost a great many of their number and many would have sustained wounds and they would all be tired. Besides these there were the Thegns, who had answered Harold's call to meet him in London, and these included the Sheriffs and Abbots from Oxford and Kent. On his way south Harold would have met up with the Fyrd from southern England and some from Norfolk and Suffolk, who had been summoned to meet him.

The most important troops were always the Housecarls, the permanent well-trained and well-armed troops of a King or magnate. The Thegns were the landowners who owed military service and again would be well trained and well armed and they in turn would be accompanied by their own housecarls. The Fyrd, although much larger in number were basically men of military age with some military training and experience but who were only called up to fight in emergencies and who could normally only be called up for a specific number of days per year; say 40. This then was the force that Harold assembled to meet the Norman threat.

Harold decided to try to repeat his successful strategy against Hardrada and catch William unawares, by force marching to Hastings, arriving there on Friday 13th October or possibly as late as 2 a.m on the 14th; an exhausted Army.

*“See you our stilly woods of oak,
And the dread ditch beside ?
O that was where the Saxons broke,
On the day that Harold died!”*

(From Puck’s Song – Puck of Pook’s Hill by Rudyard Kipling)

The Battle of Hastings

For the sake of ease I have divided the Battle into 4 phases each with a subphase, though in reality I doubt that the participants would have recognised these phases.

In phase 1 (a), the Saxons are detected by the Norman Scouts on Calbec Hill. This hill is about 2 miles north of Battle Hill and there is a good argument that Hastings actually took place here and not at Battle hill, however I do not intend to go into the arguments for and against in this book, but will assume for the purposes of this book that the battle took place on Battle Hill. (1)

Harold’s men attempt to seize the high ground of Battle hill. William sends archers, particularly crossbow men, to intercept Harold. It would appear that many of the Fyrd had never faced crossbow men before, because the force of the quarrels going through their shields and coats of mail or more likely byrnie was so terrifying, that many apparently fled calling out that the Normans had a secret weapon. The housecarls however were made of sterner stuff and gained the top of Battle hill and held it so that the remainder of Harold’s army could now join them. Harold’s troops now dismounted to fight as the Vikings and Saxons had always done.

It seems likely that William now ordered the archers to harry Harold’s forces whilst his cavalry armed themselves and mounted their destriers. The Saxons would have formed their famous shield wall, protected at the rear by a wood, which would stop William’s troops from infiltrating them from the rear.

In his Roman de Rou, Wace says:

*“Fait orent devant els escuz,
De fenestres et d’autres fuz,
Devant els les orent levez,
Comme cleies joinz e serrez,
Fait en orent devant closture,
Ni laisserent nule jointure”*

However if one changes ‘Fenestres’ for ‘fresnes tresses’ (A simple copy error or indeed a change to scan), then one has a translation, which goes something like this:

“They made in front of them shields of wattled ash and of other woods, they raised them in front of themselves like hurdles joined and set close; they left no opening in them but made them into an enclosure.” (2)

This has always seemed to me to be a wonderful description of a Saxon shield wall. William now draws up his army with Archers on each flank and Infantry in the centre. Behind these were his main troops, his cavalry, Bretons on the left wing, under Count Alan Fergant, cousin of their ruling Count, together with men from Maine and Anjou and those from Thouars under their Lord Aimeri. Normans with

William in the centre, assisted by FitzOsbern. Mixed Flemish, Boulognaise and some Normans on the right wing, under the command of Eustace of Boulogne and Roger de Montgomery, with the young de Beaumont in charge of some one thousand Beaumont troops (3). It is not clear, from what accounts of the battle remain, as to whether there was now another advance of Infantry and Archers or whether this was simply a continuation of the ongoing harrying process.

Phase 1(b) therefore may well have been an ongoing part of phase 1 (a). This was probably an advance by infantry and archers to 'soften up' the shield wall and the defenders, but in order to understand the various tactics one must look at how the two hosts were organised. Let me say straight away that there can be no definite answer but the following is likely from both the Bayeaux Tapestry and stories written after the battle but within living memory of those who took part.

Fig. 3



I tend to the position adopted by Sir Charles Oman. The front rank of Harold's force was composed of Fyrd on either side of the Thegns and their housecarls in the centre, with probably Harold's brothers in command of the front centre with Harold behind.

The Fyrd would at most have had byrnie. Leather breastplates sewn with brass or iron. Many would have had only their working clothes and cloth headgear and would be armed with a motley array of swords, axes, spears or perhaps tools used for working the land and adapted to the role of war.

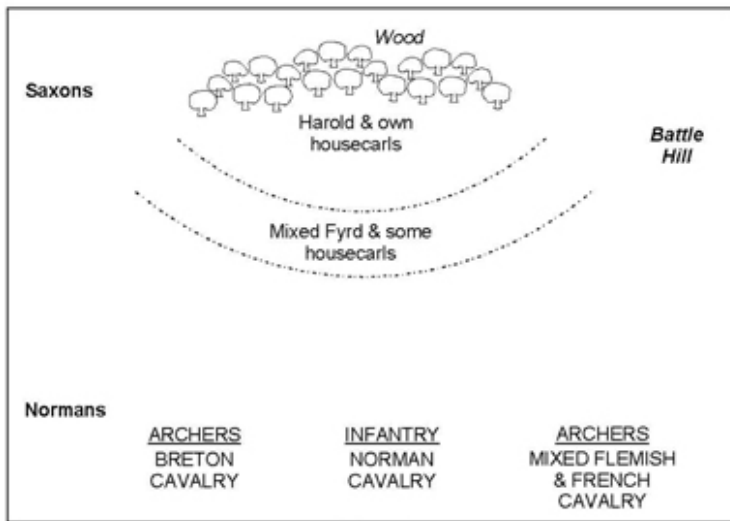


Fig. 6

In phase 1(a), I have presumed a running battle as William's archers fought to stop Harold's men from obtaining the brow of the hill. In the second part there would have been a more deliberate advance with the Norman Infantry marching up the hill covered by the archers and attempting to dislodge the Fyrd whilst they were still trying to form up. (4) Jim Bradbury in his 'Battle of Hastings' has suggested that Harold would have been in the front line (5), but I would suggest that whilst his brothers may have been, he would have been the last line of defence under his dragon standard, (6) and possibly his own personal banner of the fighting man.

Again in his book the 'Battle of Hastings' Jim Bradbury has suggested that the Normans were already on the march (the cavalry were already mounted) when they encountered Harold. My disagreement is that if that had been so, then surely William would have sent cavalry to take the hill position, not archers, as his cavalry would have arrived quicker at the brow than the infantry. Indeed it is precisely one of the reasons for suggesting Calbec Hill as the place of the battle and not Battle Hill. There is however another possibility and that is that the Norman and other cavalry were not mounted on their war horses or destriers, but on them riding horses or palfreys (7) and that it took time to bring up the destriers and charge. Though, William would I would have thought, been too experienced a General not to have had at least some of his cavalry mounted and ready to engage, either as scouts or flank protectors

I prefer therefore the contention that phase 1(b) was an advance by infantry and archers up the hill against a Saxon host, who by now were partly assembled, and ready for the attack. Ordericus says that the attack opened with an infantry attack, supported by archers and I see no particular reason to doubt him. William, I think, hoped that the infantry attack and particularly the archers would open up cracks in the shield wall for his cavalry, but in the event he was disappointed.

Phase 2(a) now commences. This is the attack by mounted knights and men-at-arms against an unbroken shield wall. From the Bayeux tapestry we can see that most of the knights appeared to have used their spears overhand to throw rather than using them couched as a lance. Whether this was actually so we cannot be sure, but again my gut feeling from a military point of view is that the cavalry were trying

to achieve what the archers had failed to do, namely cause enough mayhem by throwing spears to allow the cavalry to drive through. The cavalry was at a considerable disadvantage, as they were charging uphill, so much of their velocity was lost. The ground was uneven with boggy ground and perhaps ditches in front of the Saxon line. 'Senlac' the Saxon name for the battle, means Lake of Sand or perhaps Bog and anyone who has toiled up the hill towards the crest on a wet October day, or who has taken part in a reenactment wearing chain mail and carrying a spear and a kite shaped shield will very soon realise that 'Senlac' expresses the feel of the hill very well. Some confirmation that Battle Hill was indeed the same as 'Senlac' comes from the name of a tract of land in the Battle Abbey's foundation called 'Santlache' (8).

The cavalry were no more successful and eventually retreated, phase 2(b).

Now begins what I have called phase 3(a). The attack having petered out and the cavalry now being obliged to fall back, to regroup the Saxon army advances. Indeed they probably advanced some way as the Norman infantry came under attack and had to retreat, but again there is no reason to suppose that at that stage the infantry were not up there with the cavalry, slogging it out with the Saxons. It seems likely however that the retreat of the infantry caused problems for the Bretons on the left and perhaps some of William's main Norman cavalry, though it is possible that the various wings and the centre were by now inextricably mixed. Phase 2 ends with the inability of the Normans to penetrate the shield wall and phase 3 begins with the Saxon advance.

As the Norman cavalry and infantry retreat, the Saxons advance. The Fyrd, less experienced and probably less disciplined than the housecarls, think perhaps that the Normans are in full retreat and run forward to attack, breaking away from the protection of the shield wall. The Normans with their infantry now mixed with the cavalry cannot retire easily to regroup behind their infantry, which is what should have happened. Instead they have the Saxons snapping at their heels. It is possible that in this melee William is either unhorsed or his banner is cut down, for suddenly a cry goes up 'The Duke is dead'!

Fig. 4



This is the crucial moment of the battle. If the Normans now retreat in earnest they have lost the day. The Bayeux tapestry shows William pushing back his helmet to show his face and shows Eustace of Boulogne pointing to him to rally the troops. My question here is what was Eustace of Boulogne, supposedly one of the leaders of the right wing, doing so close to William? Had the cavalry become so inexorably mixed that the leaders had lost control? Had Eustace ridden over to William to suggest a withdrawal? There is certainly some evidence for the latter view. Perhaps the leaders of the wings had ridden over to confer with William. We shall never know but the question is intriguing! It is also possible that this is mere propaganda

on the part of Odo, when commissioning the Tapestry, to show his friend Eustace in a favourable light. Other authorities tend to suggest the opposite.

Whatever the reason the leaders manage to rally the cavalry and in phase 3(b) turn upon the Fyrd, who had rashly rushed forward and slaughtered them to a man. (9)

The end of phase 3 sees the Saxons considerably weakened and for the first time Poitiers says; "*gaps began to appear*". The shield wall had effectively been breached in places.

Phase 4(a) is now a concerted effort by William and his knights to keep up the pressure on the Saxon line. I suspect that this phase, from the point of view of the Normans, was the most costly in terms of men and horses killed. William had three horses killed under him. The right wing under the youngest Beaumont, taking part in his first battle, attacked with vigour and it is now that the feigned flight took place, when once again the Saxons were tempted out of their shield wall and which effectively led to their final defeat. To those historians who claim that feigned flight was not a tactic that was possible, I would point out that this had been used many times by the Normans (see Chap. 2 p 21). (10)

This time Poitiers says; "*a thousand men pursued the retreating Normans*". But in this case the Normans were in control of their flight. The right wing swung around behind the Saxons, thus cutting them off and surrounding them. The centre and left wing now turned to complete the encirclement and a massacre ensued.

A number of authors have pointed out that for this to happen the right wing would have had to have their backs to the main Saxon line. Tactically I don't see this as a problem. What I think happened is that the right wing hit the Saxons on their left flank. Some Saxons continued forward and were encircled whilst others were able to retreat to the main Saxon line pursued by part of the right wing. Thus part of the right wing would have been keeping up the pressure on the main Saxon force, whilst the remainder would have been engaged in closing the circle.

At some stage in phase 4, Harold is killed probably by an arrow. Again there are arguments about this, but I will go along with my reading of the Bayeux tapestry and that of David Bernstein and others. I am particularly impressed by the arguments of Sir Charles Oman in his seminal work, *The History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*. This work may be a little old now, it was first published in 1924, but I have yet to find a better in terms of military knowledge of the period and real scholarship. However as I pointed out in the *God-Kings of Europe*, Harold had to be shown to be killed in this way in order to make the Ulvungar 'geas' come true. The whole business of Carmen is I believe an attempt by a romantic writer to have William fight and kill Harold personally, a sort of Lawrence Olivier, Henry V.

Interestingly, whilst searching documents in odd corners of Normandy, such as the libraries of Mayoral offices, I came across a note in a *Genealogy of the Pontieu's* which stated; Hugh de Pontieu – 'Mort a Hastings'. There was nothing further, but perhaps Agnes did have a brother, who died at Hastings, which is why her husband, Robert de Belleme, inherited in her name.

Harold's brothers Leofwine and Gyrth probably died earlier in the battle, certainly this is how it is presented in the Bayeux tapestry, but once Harold had died then the result was not in doubt. His housecarls would have fought on. They had a duty to protect their Lords' body or die with him. The remainder of the army who fought on hoped to gain the cover of night to get away. They did not manage it.

The critical moment was apparently about 3pm. After a further infantry attack the cavalry made a final charge which broke the shield wall. Once that happened

there was no hope and the Saxons broke and fled. In Bayeux Tapestry, one can see archers at the bottom of the picture creeping up what appears to be a ditch in order to shoot at the Saxons from as near as possible. Although the Tapestry shows archers using what amounts to hunting bows, I suspect that most of them would have been cross-bowmen. We know that the Belleme contingent were mostly crossbowmen and that they had had a devastating effect earlier on and I believe had a decisive effect at the end as well. I have called this stage 4(b), but as I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, this is purely my way of trying to distinguish different parts of the battle. Other historians have divided the battle into other phases, but in point of fact it is doubtful if the original participants would have recognised any of the phases. My own experience is that the average soldier has very little idea of what is going on generally and tends to concentrate on his own immediate problems and staying alive.

After the Saxons broke and fled the Normans, who could, pursued them and some apparently fell into a ditch, now called 'Malfosse'. Curiously this gives further credence to the Calbec Hill theory mentioned earlier as a place named 'Maufosse', just north of Calbec Hill, has been identified in certain medieval charters. It is possible that this was a fallback position, or 'last ditch defence', or it may have been purely a fortuitous help to the Saxons. At all events it cost many Normans dear at the last moment. Thus ended the Battle of Hastings and with it the last time that the old Viking shield wall would be used against mail-clad cavalry.

That night William ordered his tent pitched on the crest of the hill. He was the victor of this battle but not yet King of England. Later he will command an Abbey to be built on the site, the ruins of which still exist to this day. The place of the high altar is supposed to be on the spot where Harold died. The problem is that we do not know if this is really the site or not. If as some authors suggest, Calbec Hill was where the battle took place then the Abbey is about two miles from where it should be.

The battle of Hastings was decisive against Harold but did not mean that William was automatically accepted throughout Edward the Confessor's Old Kingdom. It did mean that the vast majority of the Anglo-Saxon nobility of southern England was destroyed. Of the leaders only Esgar the Staller and Leofric, Abbot of Bourne are recorded as escaping and they were grievously wounded (11). The numbers of slain on both sides are unknown but so far as the Anglo-Saxons were concerned virtually the whole of the Army perished. William rested his Army at Hastings until the 20th. October and sent to Normandy for reinforcements. In the meantime Archbishop Ealdred and the infamous Earls Morcar and Edwin persuaded the Witan to elect Edgar the Aethling as King.

From Hastings, William moved first to Romsey where he executed numbers of the populace for killing some of his men who had landed there earlier by accident. From there he moved to Dover, which surrendered without a fight. Unfortunately William's troops took matters into their own hands and gutted the place. Next he moved on to Canterbury and then Winchester, though they very nearly didn't get that far, William and many of his knights going down with dysentery in Canterbury. Eventually William moved to London, which he did not attack immediately, but rather laid waste the countryside around to ensure no supplies could get through. Finally the Londoners and the remaining nobility including the Saxon Aethling, Edgar made their submissions and begged William to take the crown. So there in London on Christmas day 1066 William was crowned King. The Invasion by the Norman families under William has been successful. Now the real business of conquest could begin.

*“See you our little mill that clacks,
So busy by the brook?
She has ground her corn and paid her tax
Ever since Domesday Book.”*

(From Puck's Song – Puck of Pook's Hill by Rudyard Kipling)

Legal and Social Changes

In order to understand the changes that took place after the invasion and as a result of it one must first look at the legal and social positions during the 24 years of Edward the Confessors' reign, as Harold had been too short to have had any real impact.

According to an English Serjeant-at-Law in 1470 the 'Common Law' had been in existence since the creation of the world (Wallyng v Meger -(1470) – 47 SS 38 per Catesby Sjt.). He probably believed this statement but we must look a little closer.

Mercia and Northumbria were under Danelaw, though according to Maurice Ashley there were differences even between Mercia and Northumbria and even further local laws. This had been tempered somewhat during Edward's period. East Anglia and Wessex were under Anglo- Saxon law, which in many ways was similar to, but not identical with Norman feudal law. Even in the 'Leges Henrici Primi' (c.1118) there was still the Law of Wessex, The Law of Mercia and the Danelaw though each varied from place to place. (1) Normandy by contrast was under Carolin-gian feudal law, but with certain characteristics, which was particular to Normandy and probably inherited from Scandinavian sources. Under Danelaw, the King and great nobles could designate their successors, but land was held on behalf of the community or family. The warriors did not generally hold land but fought for the chief (the Giftgiver). Under Anglo-Saxon law there was a hereditary Monarchy, though confirmed by the Witan. Some of the great Earls held land in their own right and could pass it on to their sons, however there were specific cases of exception to this, Northumbria being one such.

Under Edward the situation had been gradually changing. Edward had spent his first 25 years living in Normandy, under the protection of the Norman Dukes, latterly under William himself. He had brought many Norman Barons and Knights with him and indeed they helped to keep him in power against the machinations of the Godwins. Edward had ruled England for 24 years (1042 – 1066) and he was most at home with the feudal system and had undoubtedly made changes to both the Danelaw and Anglo-Saxon systems. It is not unreasonable therefore to say that to a degree the Feudal system was already operating in England.

William recognised this fact and very shrewdly proclaimed that the law was the same as that *“upon the day on which King Edward was both King and dead”*. In other words the law was identical to the last day of King Edward's reign.

This solution for William was very neat. It gave him a breathing space before having to make changes. It also importantly overcame any awkward decrees of Harold, which might have given him trouble. Implicitly it meant that Harold's reign, as King had never taken place. He, William, had been King from the moment of Edward's death. *'King Edward is dead, long live King William'*. It also overcame any Anglo- Saxon objections. They could hardly complain if the law was the same as the

last 24 years. It also meant that he did not have to worry about any differences between Danelaw and Anglo-Saxon law. If King Edward had changed Danelaw during his 24 years, then the changes had been Edward's, not William's.

It is exactly what modern politicians do – blame their predecessors for all the ills, because of what they inherited whilst taking credit for all the things that go right. More than this William could introduce changes, but claim that they were merely to *clarify* Edward's laws. Courts today regularly change laws, claiming that they are merely "*clarifying or interpreting*" the laws made by Parliament, as Karr once said

"Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose".

At this point I think it wise to mention the work of Prof. James Campbell, Professor of Medieval History at Oxford University. In his recent book *The Anglo Saxon State* (2) Prof. Campbell is extremely critical of the work of Prof. Norman Davies's – *The Isles, A History*. (3) It is not my intention to enter into an argument on the merits or otherwise of either side in this debate. I have made my position clear at the beginning of this book. Readers who are interested should read the books for themselves and make up their own minds. As a general point in this chapter I have tried to ignore both and have by and large relied upon my own research and opinion.

It must be remembered that prior to the Norman Conquest, England had neither legislature nor judicature in any developed sense. The Laws of Wihtred (c. 700 AD) were the result of a clerical assembly and reflect clerical rather than lay jurisprudence. Recent research has shown that the Laws of Aethelberht I of Kent may have been the last Laws of a pagan King, but it is clear that the Anglo-Saxons did not codify laws but rather gave guidance on matters that had hitherto been matters of discretion. The very word 'Law' seems to have been imported from Denmark, whilst under the Anglo-Saxons it was known as 'Folcright' or communal justice (4).

Let us therefore now look at the Feudal system in outline, which system was gradually introduced by Edward and his Norman successors. The first point to mention is that the idea of freehold (or allodial), as we understand it today did not exist. All land was the King's. The King then hands out land to his chief magnates to be held as 'Tenants-in-chief'. They in turn might hand some of this land to their supporters as 'Tenants', and there might well be sub-tenants as well. This process is called in legal terms 'subinfeudation' (4). The land is held at the King's pleasure and may be taken away at any time. In practice Kings did not do this very often or they would cause rebellion. It was also a method to earn the loyalty of their main supporters. Land was held on the basis of Military Service. Thus land is frequently described as 'supporting one knight' or more. Land able to support one Knight was called a 'Knight's fee' and a manor of a Baron would normally consist of several 'Knight fees' depending upon how important the Baron was. Earls the top of the range under the King (there were no other Dukes or Marquises at this point in England, after all William even as King of England was still only Duke of Normandy), would have had both Barons and Knights as tenants and there were exceptionally Earls Palatine. Tenants-in-Chief taxed their own tenants who, in turn taxed their own holdings. Tax was often in kind, for example food, beer, grain or services. Thus someone might have to work so many days per month on his Lord's land instead of paying money. Tenants-in-Chief were responsible to the King for the taxes raised on their holdings and were responsible for not only collecting the taxes, but also delivering the taxes to the King's exchequer. The Domesday book was very much a practical tax roll. Its purpose was to find out how much revenue William could raise from his new Kingdom. Whether such systems existed on the continent

on this scale is open to question. If they did exist then none have survived to the same extent, though there is evidence from Flanders of a fragment of a pipe roll from 1140 and a 'Groote Brief' from 1187. (5)

That an accounting system of some sort existed in the England of Edward the Confessor is without question, because Domesday makes this clear. Witness for example the entry for Olnay in Buckinghamshire *"in total value £12; when acquired £7; before 1066 £12"*. (6) There are many such entries, which clearly proves that an accounting system prior to 1066 existed. The problem is not that one existed, but when did it come into existence and was it representative of a European system or peculiar to England?

It must also be pointed out that holdings of major magnates tended to be dispersed around the country rather than concentrated in one place. There were a number of good practical reasons for this. First both the King and his Barons lived peripatetic lives, as they literally had to eat their way around their holdings. This meant hopefully that a bad harvest in one place would not mean that the Lord and his tenants starved, but could receive food from another holding. It also probably meant that a Lord had a more varied diet, as what he ate in say Buckinghamshire would be different from what he ate in say Kent. It also meant of course that whilst the Knights, who moved around with their Lords received likewise a varied diet, the peasant who was restricted to a small area within walking distance had much less variation in his diet. It also meant that it was more difficult for the Great Barons to foment rebellion. Their next-door neighbour might not agree. The exceptions to this were the so-called Earls Palatine. These Earls were in charge of dangerous border areas like the Welsh and Scottish borders, or the coast. They needed for defensive purposes to have land and knights concentrated under their control, so that quick action could be taken in case of unfriendly incursions.

These 'Earls Palatine' tended therefore to be those close to William in terms of blood. People who had helped him in the Conquest and whom he felt he could trust: Montgomery, St. Clare, Eu, Beaumont, FitzOsborn, Avranches, Mortain, Bayeaux, Tosny and Gifford, though sometimes that trust was misplaced. Roger de Montgomery for example besides holding much of the Welsh borders based on Shrewsbury also held the Lewes rape, the Count of Mortain held Pevensy, whilst the Count of Eu held Hastings. (7)

The Conquest like the Invasion before it was very much a family affair. They married into each other's families and formed and reformed alliances over and over again. Indeed they continued to do so right up to the beginning of the 19th Century. In fact many marriages were either banned by various Popes or the couple had to obtain special dispensation. (8)

There is considerable difference of opinion between scholars regarding the social changes that took place after the Invasion. George Garrett is a good example of those who maintain that a great deal of social change took place. He writes *"Those Barons whether ecclesiastical or lay held their lands precariously as tenants-in-chief quite differently from the Anglo-Saxon Thegn, who had a legally defined status and did not necessarily hold anything of the King"*. (9)

On the other hand there is Prof. Frank McLynn, whom I have quoted extensively elsewhere, who wrote, *"The same fundamental socio-economic system prevailed both in England and Normandy"* (10). I have already mentioned the fact that the Confessor was in many ways more Norman than Anglo-Saxon and that he had already introduced a measure of feudalism into England prior to the Conquest, but it is worth while to look at the hierarchical structure of the social order under Edward and William. Fig. 7 shows the outline structure at the time of the Confessor. There

were very few Earls, who were the highest rank of nobility after the King. Often they were minor Kings leading the old independent Kingdoms of Mercia, Northumbria or Wessex. Under the King there were the ‘King’s Thegns’, who held their land directly from the King in return for military or civil service (11). Then there was what I have called the non-royal Thegns, who held their land from another lord either an Earl or another Thegn. A Thegn was by definition ‘someone who held enough land not to have to farm it himself’ (12).

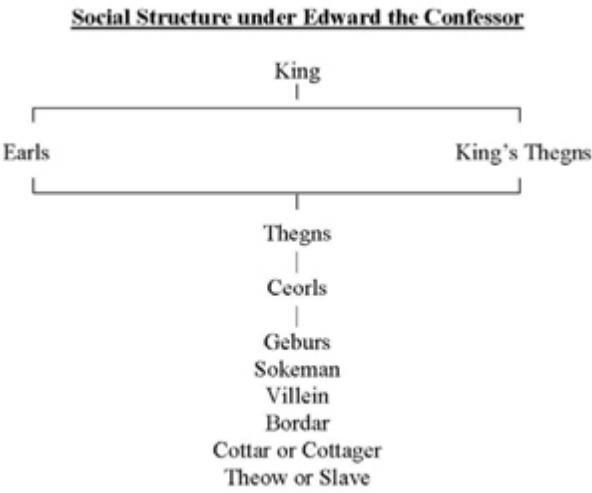


Fig. 7

A Ceorl (pronounced Churl) was a non-noble, usually a prosperous peasant who aspired to become a Thegn and could achieve this by acquiring five ‘Hides’ of land (= 600 acres), or by deed of gift from the King or an Earl. This was in fact not that uncommon. A Gebur was a kind of middle peasant burdened by dues and rents. On the other hand a Sokeman was an upper peasant owing only light service or sometimes none at all. In many cases Sokemen were better off than some of the poorer Thegns.

Social structure in Normandy prior to the Conquest

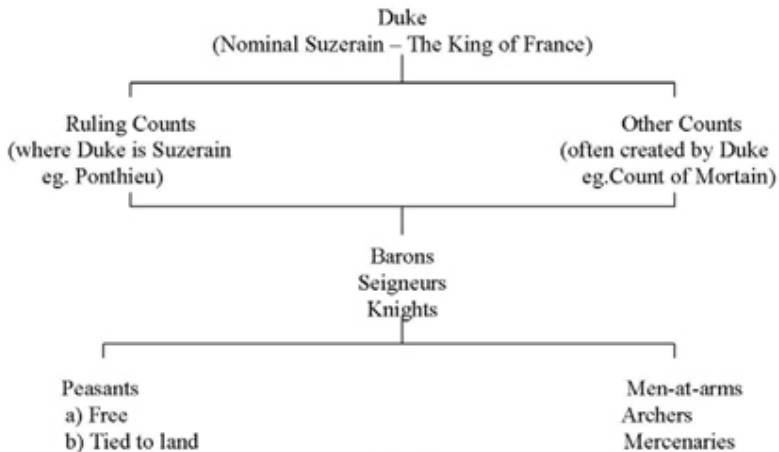


Fig. 8

A villein held anything from 15 acres to a full hide (120 acres), and although the name today is a substitute for criminal, in the 10th and 11th centuries a Villein was a much-respected member of society. Just below the Villein, in land holding, was the Bordar who held anything up to 15 acres, whilst the Cottar or Cottager was limited to a cottage. It is an interesting thought that the vast majority of people who own their thatched cottages or town houses would have been regarded in the 11th century as the bottom of the social scale. A Theow was the Anglo-Saxon slave, but he could only be bought or sold by a lord, a member of the Nobility. Slavery in Anglo-Saxon England was a legal punishment usually for the inability to pay fines, but was limited to a specific period, presumably the period calculated to pay off the fine. A Housecarl might be a Thegn and was generally held to be of the thegnage class, though unless specifically a Thegn, was paid for his service by the King or Earl. Fig. 8 (page 71) shows the social structure of Normandy prior to the Conquest of England, and Fig. 9 shows the social structure of England after the Conquest.

Social structure of England after the Conquest

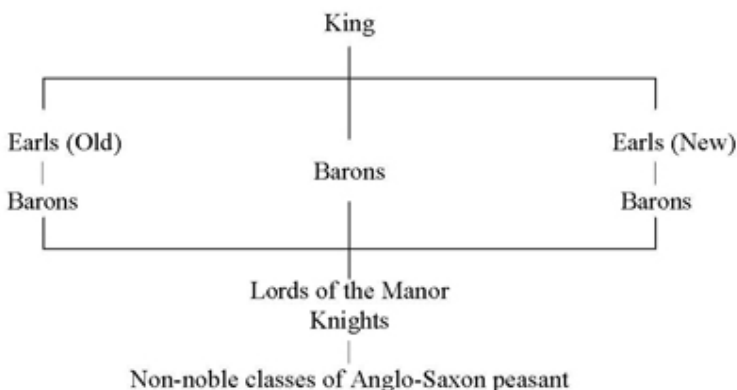


Fig. 9

At the top therefore, after the Conquest, you had a new King but no real changes, at the next level that of Earl there was again only change from Anglo-Saxon to Norman, and only then sometimes, but there were many new creations and they now fulfilled more exactly the equivalent of Norman Counts, with the Earls Palatine having a similar position to the old ruling Thegns. The Barons were really only a change in name. They were equivalent of the Thegns and indeed several Thegns became Barons. The smaller Thegns became 'Lords of the Manor', a new name for the smaller Thegn holdings, and equivalent to the Norman Seigneurs. Many of these Lords of the Manor were to reward the poorest Knights or mercenaries, who had supported William or were given to each Earl or Baron, so that they in turn could reward their own supporters. The household Knight replaces the house Honsecarle becoming a dependent Knight in the household of the King, an Earl, Baron or Lord of the Manor.

The Anglo-Saxon Ceorls disappear within a generation either to becoming Knights, Lords of the Manor or descending down the social scale. The Sokemen continue until the 1200's, but gradually disappear as well, whilst the difference between Villein and Bordar disappears, both becoming known as Villeins. The Cottager remains until the 20th century and the 'Theow'; is replaced by the peasant tied to the land. What we see therefore is a replacement of the top echelons of the nobility with Normans, particularly as I shall show in a moment, by William's kinsmen, but little real difference in the remainder of the social classes. The towns by and large retained their Charters and freedoms, and the peasants still ploughed the same fields. Changes did occur, it would be strange if they did not, but it was mostly gradual.

In the towns, the other change that would have been noticeable would have been the Jewish communities. I have mentioned the warriors of Septimania in [Chapter II](#), but without the business acumen of the Jews it is doubtful if William's new Kingdom would have recovered or regained its wealth quite so quickly. No wonder the Norman kings called them 'His Jews'. The size of the Jewish communities and their importance is demonstrated by the ritual bath recently excavated in London (Daily Telegraph 25/10/01 & see photographs on page 74).

There is another in Bristol. In fact the Jews enabled the King of England to pay to his brother, Robert Duke of Normandy, the amount for which Robert had mortgaged his Duchy, so that he could go on the Crusade. Indeed the Jews remained a power in England until the end of the reign of the Norman Kings. It was only with the accession of the Plantagenets and the marriage of Edward I to Eleanor of Castille, who was vehemently anti-Jewish that the Jews were expelled from England in 1290.

Fig. 5



Under the Confessor, the Thegns were still by and large a heterogeneous group of noblemen. The royal Thegns had held their land provisionally (not freehold), similar to the feudal system. (13) Their land was subject to 'Geld' a cross between a tax and a mortgage. If you could not pay the tax then you might have to sell the land to pay off the 'Geld'. No transaction could be made without the King's specific 'written' permission. A general agreement was not sufficient. Succession was subject to tax (e.g. Death Duties or Inheritance tax, which was abolished by Magna Carta, and was not reintroduced, on a permanent basis, until the Labour government after the 2nd World War). Under William, the social structure became at once more defined and yet in many ways more flexible. He needed a defined social structure to control his new Kingdom, but he also needed to be flexible, partly to accommodate the new lower ranges of the introduced aristocracy, but also to accommodate the

established Anglo-Saxon magnates, who survived and now supported him.

Land holdings were now the same for all social groups. The Allod or family holding disappeared to be replaced with the true feudal holding. Land was subject to a 'Service' tax, which was basically what Domesday was all about. The successor must do 'homage'. In other words, a son on inheriting must attend the King at court and kneeling place his hands between the King's promising to be 'His Man'. However land could also be acquired by marriage and of course if you were a border baron then any new lands you conquered became yours.

I do not think that the effective legal system changed much. There were now Manorial Courts, Baronial or County (Earls) Courts and the King's Court. The Manorial Court could try any cases of wrongdoing on the land of the Manor. If a 'wrong' was committed by someone from another Manor, then that lord would be given the opportunity to recover the offender and deal with the offender himself. Disputes between Manors could be referred to the Baron or Earl who as Tenant-in-Chief held both Manors, but where the Manors were held from differing lords then the dispute might be referred to the King's court. There was also the 'Writ of Praemunire' whereby a case could be transferred to the King's court. Edward had started to use this more often than his predecessors and William and his successors followed suit. The other main change was the formalisation of the tax assessment system. The great Pipe Rolls, known as the Domesday Books, were to enable William to calculate the worth of his Kingdom for tax purposes. He sent commissioners to all countries to count acreage, livestock, ploughs, and habitations and to calculate what that bit of land was now worth. Every Manor was assessed. It has to be said that the Anglo-Saxons and particularly the clergy disliked it intensely, but then who likes paying tax? The tax was assessed by the Crown's Commissioners for the first time. Today we still have commissioners of tax, whose duty it is to assess our tax.

Two examples from Domesday must suffice to show how detailed they were. The first is from what is now Lyme Regis (in Dorset): *"The Bishop of Salisbury holds Lym. Land for 1 plough. It has never paid tax. Fishermen hold it; they pay 15 shillings to the monks (of Sherborne) for fish. Meadow 4 acres. The Bishop has one house there which pays 6 pence."* You can see why the clergy disliked it, as they had never paid tax. The second is from Clun (in Shropshire): *"Picot holds Clun from Earl Roger. (Roger Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury). Edric held it; he held it as a freeman (ie. Not for military service). 15 hides which pay tax. Land for 60 ploughs. In Lordship 2: five slaves; 10 villagers and four smallholders with five ploughs. A mill which serves the court; four Welshmen pay 2 shillings and 4 pence. Of this land Walter holds two hides from Picot; Picot, a man-at-arms three hides; Gishold two hides. They have three ploughs and two slaves; two ploughmen; eight villagers, four smallholders and two Welshmen with two ploughs between them. Two riders pay two cattle in dues. Value of the whole manor before 1066 £25; later £3, now, of what Picot has £6 5s; of what the man-at-arms have £4 less 5 shillings."* This one is interesting in that it shows clearly the points I have made. The tenant-in-chief is Earl Roger de Montgomery. The tenant or lord of the manor is Picot. Edric, an Anglo-Saxon, had held it previously (and was either dead or dispossessed), but whilst as Edric had held it 'free of service', Picot has clearly to render service for it. The mill serves the manor or possibly the Earl's court. There are however some tenants who presumably had been there before, eg. Two Welshmen, but there are also some new ones. Men-at-arms serving Picot, one of them is also called Picot and is specified as a man-at-arms, to distinguish him from the lord of the manor, Gishold and Walter. The value of the manor had fluctuated. This part of the country was in very poor shape in 1068. The value had been £25, and had then dropped to as low as £3 and had now regained something, being now worth £10.

To someone visiting England in say 1065 and again in say 1076 the main

noticeable difference would have been the castles. In the Confessor's England there were walled towns, but few if any castles. But within 10 years castles, first Motte and Bailey then stone, were being built all over England. The White Tower of the Tower of London is but one of the many built by William and his Barons to control the newly acquired lands. In fact the number of Normans and other continentals settling in England was relatively small, and the top dogs were all family. If you look at the tenants-in-chief from Domesday you can see all the same names occurring over and over again whether ecclesiastical or lay, but it is particularly noticeable in those areas along the coast or the borders with Wales and Scotland.

For example in Cumberland and Yorkshire the main holders are: The King, The Archbishop of York; Robert, Count of Mortain; Count Alan of Brittany; Ilbert de Lacy. In Cheshire it is divided mostly between the Bishop of Chester and Hugh d'Avranches now Earl of Chester (known as either the Wolf for his ferocity against the Welsh or the Fat for his obesity).

In Shropshire Roger de Montgomery is an Earl Palatine. He has castles at Shrewsbury, Montgomery (named after himself), Oswestry as well as the Marcher lordships of Clun and Laidlow. His son Philip holds the manor of Wenlock near to Shrewsbury. His son Roger of Poitiers or Poitou, becomes Earl of Lancaster and Kendal and his son Arnulph, Earl of Pembroke. His son Hugh is made Earl of Arundel and later inherits his father's Earldom of Shrewsbury as well. His elder son, Robert is Count of Belleme in his father's lifetime and later ruling Count of Ponthieu, through his wife Agnes. On his younger brother's death he also inherits the Earldom of Shrewsbury.

In Herefordshire there is already a Norman Baron, Alfred of Marlborough who was one of the Confessor's Norman Barons, but just to be on the safe side William FitzOsbern is made Earl of Hereford. In Kent his half-brother Odo of Bayeaux is made Earl of Kent, with Richard FitzGilbert's castle at Tonbridge and Hugh de Montfort's at Saltwood.

Sussex is particularly interesting. William took very careful precautions here to make certain no one else could mount a similar invasion to his. Sussex was therefore divided into five 'Rapes', which were in parallel strips running from the coast to the county's northern border. Each rape was given to a powerful Norman Baron related by blood or marriage to William. William de Warenne held the rape of Lewes, William de Broase held the Bamber rape, whilst Roger de Montgomery held Arundel, the Count of Mortain the Pevensey rape and the Count of Eu held Hastings. Further more each had to have mottes in depth, such as Verdley, Pulborough, Knepp, Channelbrook, Caburn and Burglow.

In Hampshire the King was the main land holder, whilst in Dorset Osmond of Sees (in Normandy) became Bishop of Salisbury, a member of the Privy Council and Earl of Dorset and Somerset. In Devon besides the King we find once again the Count of Mortain, Earl Hugh and the Bishop of Coutances and in Westmoreland it is again the King and Roger of Poitou (son of Roger de Montgomery).

“Clare has risen, FitzOsborne has risen, Montgomery has risen”

(From Puck of Pook's Hill by Rudyard Kipling)

Post 1066, the Domesday Book and the Families

Although William was crowned and acknowledged as King in the winter of 1066 it was to be another 20 years before England could be considered to be entirely under his control. In March of 1067 William returned to Normandy. He took with him as hostages Prince Edgar, as well as the Earls Morcar, Edwin and Waltheof, so as to remove any leaders of an Anglo-Saxon revolt. In his absence he appointed as joint regents Odo, Bishop of Bayeaux, now Earl of Kent and William Fitz Osbern, now Earl of Hereford. Their particular task was to fortify England by building castles throughout William's and their domains. Naturally this was seen by the Anglo-Saxons as oppression. Anglo-Saxon chronicle says, *“They built castles far and wide throughout the land, oppressing the unhappy people.”*

It was perfectly obvious however, to the Normans, that if they were to control England, they had to have castles in strategic places, just as they had in Normandy and the regents were obliged to set aside the objections of the people, who were either displaced or forced to work on these castles. There were of course revolts. The first was led by an extraordinary character called Edric the Wild, who was said by the Celts to have married a fairy (1). This attack was aimed at the newly built Norman castle at Hereford, the northern base of William Fitz Osbern. Edric and his Welsh company failed miserably in their attack and instead laid waste and robbed the surrounding countryside before returning to Wales with the spoils.

I mentioned earlier that Eustace of Boulogne had tried himself for the Crown in 1051, and he now made another attempt. Apparently the people of Kent invited Eustace over, but it has always seemed to me to smell of something more. Odo of Bayeaux who was charged with the defence of Kent, as Earl of the same, was conveniently away in the North when Eustace landed and therefore would not afterwards to be called to account by William. Eustace and his men meanwhile occupied the town of Dover, but the men of the castle garrison defended the castle stoutly and Eustace had to retire.

At the same time the Northumbrians made overtures to Sweyn Estrithson, King of Denmark, with whom William had previously done a deal. William decided it was time to return and landed back in England on 6th December 1067. The first thing he did on his return was to lead a combined Norman and AngloSaxon army into Devon and Cornwall. He laid siege to Exeter, the capital of Devon, which resisted him for some 18 days. Surprisingly King William allowed the city to surrender on terms, possibly because he felt that the revolt had been led by Harold Godwinsson's mother and his illegitimate sons, but who deserted the people of Exeter before the siege had finished. At all events William ordered a castle to be built there and left a garrison to secure the area. The revolt must have been quite well supported, as William had to deal with both Bristol and Gloucester shortly thereafter and again ordered castles to be built there.

At Whitsun in 1068 he decided that it was safe enough to bring over Matilda and had her crowned Queen, in Westminster Abbey. But although the South of England was firmly under Norman control, the North was not yet subdued. When

William returned he brought back his hostages with him. Edgar now escaped and fled north to the court of his brother-in-law, King Malcolm of Scotland. At the same time the Northumbrians decided on rebellion, led by both their former Earl Morcar and their present Earl Gospatric, who was of Saxon noble blood and a friend of the dead Tostig.

The Northumbrians now sought aid from both Sweyn of Denmark and Malcolm of Scotland. William decided that the time had come to deal with these northern rebels once and for all. He went first to Warwick and then to Nottingham, both of which quickly submitted, and William was then able to enter York unopposed. The local lords swore fealty and Malcolm sent a message promising not to invade. William returned to London via Lincoln, Huntingdon and Cambridge. In all of these places he ordered castles to be built. He also sent a Norman, again family, Robert de Commines to Northumbria as its new Earl. He spent Christmas of 1068 in London.

If William thought that he had succeeded in taming the North he was sadly mistaken. The Northerners regarded William's relative leniency as a weakness. In January of 1069 the new Earl Robert of Northumbria was burnt to death in the Bishop's palace in Durham along with some 900 of his men (2). In York the Norman commander of the castle was killed and Prince Edgar arrived from Scotland, to be welcomed by all the local magnates. Simultaneously two of Harold's sons raided the south west coast. William moved with speed. He rode north with almost his entire army and overwhelmed the rebels at York, slaying several hundreds. This time there was to be no leniency. York was turned over to the plunder and rape of his soldiers. Edgar of course retreated to Scotland.

At the same time as William was dealing with the northern uprising his local Norman commanders in Dorset, Somerset and Shropshire on the Welsh border, had to deal with attacks of their own. These commanders were not taken unaware however and were able not only to hold their own, but decisively defeat the rebel forces, although Shrewsbury itself was severely damaged by fire. These rebellions however were mere diversions compared to the attack that now took place. Sweyn Estrithson, King of Denmark decided to try to gain the throne for himself and sent over a fleet under two of his sons and his brother (3). Although this fleet was in fact smaller than that of Harold Hardrada in 1066, it was joined by all the local magnates around York including Prince Edgar (who slunk south again), the disposed Earl Gospatric and this time Earl Waltheof (4). York fell on 20th September 1069, to the Danes. Once more William himself took control, moving north to force the Danes out of Lincolnshire, then suddenly turning west he dealt effectively with another uprising by Edric the Wild. From there he moved in to the Midlands and basing himself in Nottingham started a systematic devastation of the northern counties. This policy was principally to deprive the Danes of supplies. After several delays he finally took York and decided to stay there to celebrate Christmas and to try to carry on a winter campaign, which certainly disconcerted his enemies. He forced his way across the Pennines and occupied Chester as well as taking Stafford. Prince Edgar, once again, withdrew to Scotland and Earl Waltheof made his peace with the King. He was finally brought to book by plotting rebellion again and the machinations of his wife (See [chapter 2](#)). Prof. Douglas states that the campaign of 1069 to 1070 "must rank as one of the outstanding military achievements of the age". To the Anglo-Saxon chronicler it was a disaster – *"The King had all the monasteries in England plundered and in the same year there was a great famine"*. Obviously William was not overly fond of the Church!

At Easter William finally reached Winchester and disbanded part of his army, paying off most of his mercenaries. All was not at an end however. In the spring of 1070 King Sweyn himself arrived in the Humber with additional ships. They

occupied the Isle of Ely and sacked Peterborough. Here they were joined by those most turncoat of Earls Morcar and Edwin, plus a mysterious character called Hereward the Wake. This time William used diplomacy. He signed a peace treaty with Sweyn, who returned to Denmark full of booty. Morcar was taken prisoner and died in prison, whilst his brother Edwin was killed by his own followers attempting to flee once again to Scotland. It seems that their followers had eventually realised that Edwin and Morcar were not interested in England but only their own thwarted ambitions. Thus ended two rather unpleasant AngloSaxon Earls. William then headed himself for Ely where the rebels surrendered, but the person of Hereward escaped and disappeared from history to become mere myth.

The subjugation of England was now complete and the establishment of Earls Palatine mentioned in [chapter VI](#) worked reasonably well, in securing the borders. Although rebellions continued from time to time, including rebellions amongst the Normans, by and large the real conquest was over by the end of 1070, although in 1085 King Cnut of Denmark and Olaf of Norway gathered together a large fleet to invade. The invasion did not materialise, but it made William realise that he needed to know how much tax were available to him in case of war.

In 1085 William held court at Christmas in Gloucester and the Anglo-Saxon chronicler says *“had much thought and very deep discussion about this country . . . Then he sent his men all over England into every shire . . . So very narrowly did he have it investigated, that there was no single hide nor a yard of land, nor indeed (it is a shame to relate but it seemed no shame to him to do) one ox nor one cow nor one pig which was there left out, and not put down in his record.”*

The Anglo-Saxons and indeed many of the Normans were horrified by his thoroughness. They could no longer escape their full tax quota, and there was real fear in the naming of the survey ‘Domesday’ – The fear of the Day of Judgement. (5)

Rupert, Bishop of Hereford in his description of the survey made it plain that not only did the commissioners make an original assessment, but that others from a different county were sent afterwards to check out the accuracy of the first commissioners. *“After these investigations came others, who were sent to unfamiliar counties to check the first descriptions and to denounce any wrong doers to the King.”* William knew human nature and knew that some of his commissioners were not above taking a little bribe.

The Domesday Book clearly shows the feudal system at work. The land as a whole is deemed to be the King’s. First are described the Royal manors and lands, then those of the Tenants-in-chief both ecclesiastical and lay, then the sub-tenants of the Tenants-in-chief, then those holding from a sub-tenant etc. all the way down the line. William himself did not live to see Domesday completed dying in 1087, whilst campaigning against the French in Nantes.

Already during his lifetime William had faced rebellions against him from the Norman families. Roger of Breteuil, the son of his cousin and steward William Fitz Osborn, who had been created Earl of Hereford, became embroiled in a conspiracy against William in 1071 and was blinded and thrown into prison, where he died. Roger de Montgomery, himself threatened rebellion, but was quickly brought to reason by William, and both Odo of Bayeaux and Eustace of Boulogne had tried unsuccessfully to raise the standard of rebellion. Already in August of 1086, William was beset by problems. Although the threat of invasion had receded, Philip of France was preparing an attack on Normandy aided and abetted by Robert, William’s eldest son. Odo of Bayeaux, his half brother, was confined to prison in Rouen but could still stir up trouble. William therefore decided to invoke a personal oath of loyalty from all those who had benefited from his English conquest and

therefore on 1st August 1086 William assembled all his tenants-in-chief and their military tenants or “peers of honour” on Salisbury plain and had them swear a personal “oath of allegiance”. (6)

With the death of William however and the break up of his Anglo-Norman Kingdom, the alliances were stretched too far and a break up of the families of the conquest seemed inevitable. Rightly or wrongly William decided to divide his Dukedom of Normandy and his Kingdom of England. He gave Robert, known as Curthose, his Duchy of Normandy and his son William, known as Rufus, his Kingdom of England. To those Norman magnates who owned land on both sides of the Channel this was a far from ideal situation. Many like Robert de Belleme sided with Robert Curthose, whilst others took the side of William. Odo of Bayeux rebelled within a year of William’s death and was banished from England, his estate in Kent being forfeit.

The St. Clares, who took their name from the treaty of St. Clare-sans-Epte, and who were like William the descendants of Rollo, by and large remained loyal to whoever held the English crown, and frequently benefited from the downfall of other families by taking over land previously held by their less fortunate or perhaps more foolhardy cousins.

It was not until the succession of Henry I that England and Normandy were united once again and William’s legacy could be put on a firm footing. Once again this did not outlast Henry’s reign and with his death England was plunged into civil war. The Ulvungar ambition however was to survive and with the marriage of Henry I’s grandson, Henry II to Eleanor of Aquitaine the scene was set for the Angevins to start to reclaim their old Visigothic Kingdom.

The other momentous event, which occurred after William’s death, was the preaching of the 1st crusade in 1089 by Pope Urban II. This had a number of consequences for the ‘Families’. Robert of Normandy decided to go on the crusade and mortgaged his Duchy to his brother William in order to pay for the journey and the outfitting of his followers. Amongst those who accompanied him was Philip de Montgomery, who died on the crusade and two St Clare cousins, Henri de St. Clare who had land in both Scotland and England and Simon de St. Lys, who on his return built the round church in Northampton.

Eustace of Boulogne may have been unsuccessful in his bid to become King of England, but the heirs of Boulogne became Kings of what was at that time regarded as the pre-eminent Christian Kingdom, that of Jerusalem. In a sense, the Conquest of England, had been a dress rehearsal for the only really successful crusade, the 1st crusade, and it was lead by the heirs of William and his cousins, accompanied by the other major Norman power, the Normans of Southern Italy under the Hauteville family.

I mentioned that Henry II’s marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine had formed the basis of an Empire stretching from England through Normandy, Maine and far down into southern France, but another inter-family marriage was to bring most of France within their grasp. In 1254 Edward I married Eleanor of Castille. She descended from Jane, Comtesse de Ponthieu in her own right; the last of the Montgomerys of Ponthieu. Her grandfather William III of Ponthieu had married Alice of France and Jane herself married Ferdinand III, King of Castille and Leon. Jane’s dowry was her County of Ponthieu and when her great-granddaughter Eleanor married Edward I her dowry to Edward was once again, the County of Ponthieu (7). Later this was to become the property of another Edward, the Black Prince and Duke of Aquitaine. The so called hundred year’s war very nearly resulted in one branch of the Ulvungars becoming Kings of England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, France and

Aquitaine. Eventually they were thwarted by other branches of the same family, who were not prepared to see their English cousins become so powerful, but that is another story. The most unfortunate episode so far as the families were concerned was that during the period from Jane's marriage to the King of Castille and Eleanor's marriage to Edward the Ponthieu legacy appears to have been suborned by the Catholic Church and Eleanor had the Jews ejected from England.

How have the families of the Conquest survived over the past 1000 years? Some are difficult to trace, and most have had their ups and downs, but many of them have survived and still supply important input into the life of the Nation. I am only going to mention here those families who were directly related to William, and who formed his inner council. They are William's own family of St. Clare (with its variations of St. Clare, Sinclair, St. Cleer etc.), the Beaumonts, the Eus (who became Euston or the town of Eu), the FitzOsberns, the Montgomerys and the Boulognes. The Boulognes became Kings of Jerusalem and married into the Royal family of Scotland. I have used Kelly's Handbook for 1943 in order to gain a snapshot of the families immediately before the end of the 2nd World War. (8)

The FitzOsbern direct line finished, with the death in prison of Roger the son of William FitzOsbern, but a line who dropped the Fitz became Dukes of Leeds. Of William's St. Clare descendants, there are the Earls of Westmoreland, Rosslyn and Caithness as well as Barons Sinclair and Portland. Then there is the Plantagenet line of the Plantagenet-Hastings, who are Earls of Huntingdon. If you look in Kelly's for 1943 there are a total of 22 Beaumonts listed including Viscount Allendale. In the same book there are 30 entries for Montgomerie / Montgomery including the Earl of Eglinton and Winton and Gen. Sir Bernard Law Montgomery, soon to be Viscount Montgomery of Alamein. Other descendants of Roger de Montgomery took the name Carew and became Baron Carew, also Duke of Brydges and with yet another name change the later Lusignan Kings of Jerusalem.

There are undoubtedly a number of other families who can claim descent from the victors of Hastings such as the Grosvenors (Dukes of Westminster), the Courtenays (Earls of Devon), the Bowes-Lyons (Earls of Strathmore), the Devereauxs (Viscount Hereford) and the Harcourts (Viscount Harcourt), but I believe that there are only 32 families who can prove their descent to the satisfaction of genealogists. Perhaps DNA will one day be used to prove or disprove their claims. It is not the function of a study of this sort to decide whether the legacy of the conquest has been good or bad; all that one can say is that these families of Viking (Odonic and Davidic) origin have had an enormous input on Western civilisation in general and Northern Europe in particular.

Many of the families eventually left England and went north to Scotland, where the Catholic Church's writ did not run so strongly. Indeed it was these same families who helped thwart the English conquest of France during the hundred years' war. Many still made common cause with their Scandinavian cousins, whose dislike of the Catholic Church was still manifest in the 14th Century. For example when Henry Sinclair was installed as Jarl of Orkney on 2nd August 1379 he was forbidden by the King of Norway to have anything to do with the Bishop of Orkney without the King's consent. In point of fact Henry removed the Bishop permanently, though he was never actually accused of the Bishop's murder. There was also an ambitious plan to establish a Northern Commonwealth of Norway, Sweden and Denmark (already united by the treaty of Kalmar) plus Scotland, Orkney, Shetland and the Faroes (united by the bond of Amity signed in 1281) and Iceland, Greenland (part of the Norwegian realm) Markland (Newfoundland), Helluland (Labrador) and Vinland (New England) already settled by descendants of Vikings who looked to Scandinavia as their homeland. This was also to combat the growing power of the Hansa league,

who were already referring to the North Sea as the 'Oceanus Germanicus', and that of the Roman Church (9).

I cannot do better than end with a quote from the Toiseach of Clan Sinclair 'If this Northern Commonwealth had materialised the History of the Old and New World would have changed dramatically. Rome would have taken a back seat. **The Odonic Dynasty would have prevailed.**' (10)

1. POLYGAMY

I have noted in passing in the book the matter of Polygamy. It is a subject that most historians either ignore or scout around. I think however it is time to bring this matter into the open. Most historians accept that the Merovingians and the early Carolingians were polygamous and particularly that Charlemagne had several wives and concubines concurrently. The Church in the 9th and 10th centuries tried to pretend that this did not happen and called one or other of the wives mistresses. This however disguised a reality. The Frankish and Norse noble families were by nature, tradition and inclination polygamous. If you look at the Genealogies I – IV you will see immediately that this continued until late in the 10th and into the beginning of the 11th century:

- Harold Bluetooth had at least two wives concurrently.
- Sweyn Forkbeard married Sigrid before the death of Gunnhild.
- Richard I of Normandy was married to both Emma and Gunnora at the same time even though the Church tried to pretend that only Emma was his wife. If this had been so then why did nobody raise the question of the legitimacy of Richard, Robert and his other children?
- Rollo was married to both Poppa and Gizelle at one and the same time. Again the priests would have us believe that Poppa was a mistress and again why did nobody raise the question of William 'Longsword's' legitimacy?
- William 'Longsword' himself had two wives concurrently Espriota and Leutgarda.
- In fact there is even a case for making Herleve a second wife to Robert rather than the mistress that everyone proclaims. My only comment is that by now the Church was becoming too powerful for the Normans to continue their customary behaviour.
- It is noticeable however that neither Cnut, who was married to both Aelgifa of Northampton and Emma of Normandy at the same time, nor Harald Hardrada, who was also married to two wives at one and the same time thought that the Church's censure was important. The Catholic Church was much less powerful in Scandinavia.

2. THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

There is a case to be made that neither the Merovingians nor the early Carolingians were Christian in the accepted sense. It could be argued that they were pagan or possibly even Jewish. The point that Prof. Zuckerman makes is perfectly valid. If the Church was fulminating against Charlemagne's most senior nobles converting to Judaism, and Charlemagne was supporting the nobles concerned, then it brings into doubt Charlemagne's own beliefs especially as he had married a Jewish princess. (See Zuckerman, A.J. (1972) – *A Jewish Principdom in Feudal France 768-900*, Columbia University Press, New York & London, Chap. 4). In traditional Judaism one could have more than one wife!

The position of Jews in England under the Norman and Angevin Kings

It has already been shown that the Carolingian Emperors of the 9th. Century had taken the Jews under their special protection (See Bartlett, R. *op. cit.* p. 351). The Norman Kings made the position even more clear by granting them a series of Charters, one of which, issued in 1201 says that they were permitted to reside in the King's lands, to travel where they would and to have secure possession of their 'lands, fiefs, pledges and escheats' (reverted estates). In Law a Jew need only appear before the Royal Judges. In a case between Christian and Jew the Plaintiff whether Jew or Christian had to have witnesses of both religions. In the absence of witnesses a Jew could clear himself by an oath on the roll of the Torah. Very importantly

where a Christian brought a case against a Jew unless it was the Crown it was 'to be judged by the Jews fellows'. The only other group with similar rights were the members of the Peerage. Furthermore their rights in chattels and debts were guaranteed and they were free from tolls and customs. In return the Jews created wealth for the King by trade and money lending and were taxed separately to the rest of the populace.

There is a photograph of a Jewish ritual bath (See page 74) recently uncovered by archaeologists in what was Milk Street in the old city of London and close to the White Tower built by William to guard London. This bath was built shortly after the conquest.

The other interesting point is that Catharism appears to have started in the Narbonne Area and somewhere between 800 – 1100 gradually moved north to encompass Beziers, Montsegur, Montreal, Toulouse, Lavaur, Montaubon, Cahors, Niort and Thuors. (See Barber, M. (2000) – *The Cathars*, Pearson Educational Ltd., Essex, UK, pp. 260-266). I have shown in *The God-Kings of Europe* how early Judaic-Christianity gradually became Elchasaic and eventually Catharism.

3. THE ST. CLAIRS AND SINCLAIRS

The information regarding the adoption of the name St. Clair and later Sinclair by the family of Rollo's descendants and their genealogy is from information kindly provided by Major Niven Sinclair of the Sinclair Trust, Dr. Andrew Sinclair, the eminent historian and Rt. Hon. The Earl of Caithness, PC., Chief of Clan Sinclair, from documents in their possession.

4. THE ARISTOCRACY AND TITLES

There seems to be considerable difference of opinion as to who constituted the Aristocracy and what titles they used. The Law recognised only the law for the 'Free' and there was no difference between them unless they were Jews (See above). Therefore there was no unified group of people at the point of the Conquest who could be called 'Nobles' with special privileges (See Bartlett, R. *op. cit.* p. 207). You might be called Earl or Knight the Law made no differentiation – only the King was above the Law. There were indeed words used in Latin documents such as 'Nobilis', 'Generosus', 'Potens' and 'Magnus' but whether these indicated that a particular group of people were so called must I think be said to be non-proven. The highest title in Anglo-Saxon times was undoubtedly Earl, which is of Anglo-Scandinavian origin and which was generally rendered in Latin as 'Comes'. Again Bartlett suggests that there were only 7 of these titles at the time of and shortly after the conquest, namely Huntingdon/ Northampton, Kent, Northumberland, Chester, Shrewsbury and East Anglia. I am not so convinced. It seems to me that we are talking here of the most senior of these Earls or if you wish what I have termed 'Earls Palatine'. Indeed according to William of Malmesbury, William Rufus talking to Roger de Montgomery at the time of the 1088 rebellion actually calls them 'Duces' or Dukes (See W. Malm., *Gesta Regum* 4.306). It seems to me more likely that anyone with 100 Knights' fees would have been classified as an Earl. There is also the question of what a great Count from the continent who happened to have English land would be called in documents. If he were called in Latin 'Comes Arundelensis' was he Earl of Arundel?

Whilst as I accept that there were only 7 'Great Earldoms' or 'Earls Palatine' I am not so sure about the titles used by other Barons and magnates.

Notes on Genealogies

Author's note: The information in this appendix was based upon the researches of the late Dr. B.G.Montgomery (Stockholm & Oxford) and much of this has been previously published by him in 'Ancient Migrations and Royal Houses' (1968). I am most grateful to my distant cousin in Sweden, Sophie Montgomery, for facilitating the notes and both published and un-published work of her father. The conclusions in this appendix are however mine and do not necessarily reflect the late B.G.Montgomery's point of view.

According to the annals of Fulda, Godfrid (Snorre's Gudrod Vejdekong) was the brother of king Horic (*Horic Regem Danorum & Gudurm fratris ejus*), but the Three Fragments tell us that God-frid was the son of Ragnail and the father of king Ingvar. This must be correct, since otherwise Godfrid would have had a son with the same name. At that time father and son never shared the same name, unless the son was born after the father's death. Godfrid was chief of Fingall and of the Isles in 835.

The Fragments contain the following interesting passage:

"Amhlaeibh went from Erin to Lochlann to wage war on the Lochlanns, and to aid his father Godfridh, for the Lochlanns had made war against him, his father having come for him; but it would be tedious to relate the cause of the war, and besides it appertains but little to us, though we have knowledge of it, for our business is not to write whatever may belong to Erin, nor even all these; for the Irish suffer evils, not only from the Lochlanns, but they also suffer injuries from one another".

If the author of these lines had known that they would be carefully studied more than a thousand years after they were written and that the cause of the war between Godfrid and the Lochlanns would become a matter of intense interest to historians of the present generation he would, no doubt, have given us the details which he found so tedious to relate. We must be grateful, however, for the information he *has* given us. The war mentioned took place in 872 when the military forces of Denmark were heavily engaged in England and Scotland. Since Amhlaeibh (Olaf) went to Lochlann to aid his father against Lochlanns we may reasonably assume from these sources:

1. Neither Godfrid nor Olaf considered themselves as Lochlanns,
2. Godfrid had left the Hebrides and settled in Norway,
3. He was the Danish king of Westfold and South Jutland.

A Danish king in Westfold would become an easy prey to bellicose native petty kings in that part of Norway if they united against him at a moment when he could expect no immediate reinforcements from Denmark. But this was probably not the cause of the war referred to in the Irish document. We must think again. The father of Harald Fair Hair, king of Norway was Halfdan the Black. He has wrongly been ranked among petty kings by Snorre and others, who have produced fantastic pedigrees for this king tracing his descent from the ancient kings of Upsala. These pedigrees are supported by no evidence. On the other hand, there is plenty of evidence to show that Halfdan the Black was the son of Ragnvald Heioumhaerri, king of Westfold, son of Godfrid king of Denmark, son of Herioldus Brochus.

Halfdan's victory of Hafrsfjord over his brother Godfrid and his nephew Olaf

(*Ingvar's brother) brought Westfold and other parts of South Norway under his dominion. This battle took place in 872 and Halfdan's son Harald (Fair Hair) was too young at the time to accompany his father on that campaign.

The story of Harald's proposal to Princess Ragnhild of Denmark, the daughter of the younger king Horic is for many reasons absurd. In all probability *she* was his mother, since tradition is unanimous to the effect that the name of Halfdan's spouse was Ragnhild. This would also be in keeping with the fact that the petty kings of Norway so readily submitted to the ruling of the young king after Halfdan's death in 877.

Of Harald's sons Eric, surnamed Blodyx, was sometime king of Norway and later on of Northumberland (once ruled by his grandfather Halfdan), and Hakon succeeded his brother as king of Norway.

It seems reasonable to assume that Horic's and Ragnhild's brother Olaf is identical with the king Olaf who resided at Birka on the arrival of St. Anscharius about 850. As far as we know there is no other king who bore that name at that time except Amhlaeibh (Olaf) Conung, the son of the king of Lochlann, who invaded Ireland in 852. The elder king Horic of Denmark, whose brother's name was Olaf sent a letter of introduction for Anscharius to king Olaf of Birka in order to facilitate his mission. Rimbart tells us that Olaf invaded Courland. This country had a population related to the Achaians of West Scania and two of its towns Seeburgh and Apulia are mentioned by Rimbart. The land where Libau and Memel now stands was at that time under water and Seeburgh must have been situated on the coastline. Apulia is the correct Latin translation of Puglie, which in Achaian would have been Fuglie or Fiaeliae. In this case Apulia must be identified with the town Siaulisi in Lithuania, situated about 7 miles east of Memel.

Olaf had two sons, one being Horic, king of Denmark and father of Ragnhild, who married Halfdan the Black; and the other Anund, king of Birka before 844 ('Ermunder Kunung Olafs sun' -Series Runica Prima).

Godfrid, king of Westfold had two sons, who after each other became kings of Dublin. In the Irish annals they were known as Amhlaeibh and Imhar, but the Saxon chronicles call them Hinguar & Ubba. In Scandinavian sagas and chronicles they are designated "*bastard sons of Ragnar Lodbrok*" which is nonsense. In 871 they raided Scotland and plundered the country. Their fleet on this occasion numbered 200 ships (*Three Fragments*). The same event is recorded in the *Annals of Ulster*. Mathew of Westminster has the year as 870. Ingvar died in Christo 873 (Annals of Ulster), and Olaf lost his life in a struggle with king Alfred's men in Devonshire 878. It was on this occasion that he flew the banner of the Raven embroidered by his sisters. Ingvar had two sons, Godfrey, his heir, and Sitric, who murdered his brother in 884 and succeeded him in 885.

It is perhaps as well to note here that the Danish name Oluf simply means O'Ulf (Mac d'Uff) i.e. descendant of Ulf. [They are therefore proclaiming that they are descended from Ata-Ulf (The ancestor-Ulf), who married Maria of the Elchasaites, as detailed in The God Kings of Europe, Chap. 1]. Godfrid, Gudrod or Goder, the eldest son of Herioldus Brochus alias Hylthetan, was king of most of Denmark. He was killed while preparing a great expedition against Charlemagne in 810. In the fighting that ensued between the rival claimants to the Crown, Godfrid's sons Horic and Olaf killed Anulo, Halfdan's eldest son. "*Olaf Kunung Rings bane, Goder son*", says Series Runica Prima. Anulo's younger brother Harald (Herioldus) and Ragnar (Ragbinfridus) then turned to the Emperor for support and eventually recovered the lands conquered by Godfrid's sons. According to Adam of Bremen discord later arose between Harald and Ragnar and the latter was compelled to leave the country.

Harald, king of South Jutland and Lethra, and his son Godfrid, were baptized at Mayence in 826. Harald received the land of the Frisians between the mouths of the Scheldt and the Ems as a fief under the Emperor. This Christian king of Denmark did not remain in power for very long. He eventually settled in his Frisian country and later in Gaul, but was murdered there in 852. His son Godfrid entered the Seine with a fleet in 850 and after his father's death he was granted a fief in Neustrie by Charles-le-Chauve.

Cornelius Hamsfort (1546-1627) who was the owner of a most important collection of ancient documents and chronicles relating to Danish History (Regum Danorum series) states that Ragnar succeeded his brother Harold as King of the Cimbri of Seeland. If this is true and I see no reason to doubt it, then Ragnar was no doubt Overlord of the Cimbric population in central Jutland, the Danish isles and the south of Sweden.

The Three Fragments contain the following:

"At this time (869) the Aunites, i.e. the Danes, came with countless forces to Caer Ebroic (York), and destroyed the city, which they took, and this was the beginning of great troubles and difficulties to the Britons. For not long before this time every kind of war and commotion prevailed in Lochlann, which arose from this cause; i.e. the two younger sons of Albdan, King of Lochlann, expelled the eldest son Raghnnall, son of Albdan, because they feared he would seize the kingdom of Lochlann after their father (had he been the eldest son he would have been the lawful heir); and Raghnnall came with his three sons to Innsi Orc, and Raghnnall tarried there with his youngest son. But his elder sons, with a great host, which they collected from every quarter, came on to the British Isles, being elated with pride and ambition to attack the Franks and Saxons. They thought that their father had returned to Lochlann immediately after setting out, but now their pride and youthful ambition induced them to row forward across the Cantabrian sea, (the sea which is between Erin and Spain), until they reached Spain, and they were guilty of many outrages in Spain, both killing and plundering. They afterwards crossed the Gaditanean Straits, where the Mediterranean sea goes into the Atlantic ocean, and arrived in Africa; where they fought a battle with the Mauretani, in which a great slaughter of the Mauretani was made".

It would seem that Raghnnall (Ragnar) had under him not only the Cimbres of Seeland mentioned by Hamsfort, but also the Chattic Aunites i.e. the Visigoths of Ragnarici, Westrogothia and Ostrogothia. Birka and Hatuna were northern outposts of his maritime and commercial empire along the east coast of Sweden.

The events in the Fragments seem to have taken place some time between the years 844-859 (*Annales Bertiniani*). Scottish Chronicles, in Innes make the following reference to an invasion of Scotland in the reign of Kenneth Mac Alpin (843-58): *"the Danish pirates, wasting Pictavia, advanced into the interior, as far as Clunie, in Stormont, and Dunkeld on the Tay, under the influences of Ragnar Lodbrog, whose desire was plunder, and whose delight was blood. He soon afterwards met his merited fate in Northumberland, amid a congenerous people".*

The raids on Spain and Morocco were no doubt carried out in conjunction with the contemporary invasions of Gaul. In both cases Raghnnall's elder sons Sigfrid (Frotho) in *Series Runica Prima* called *"Siwarth Kunung sun Regners Lodbrogh"*, and Bjorn Ironside, styled *"Biorn Kunung Jarnsithe"*, were the leaders of the operations. In the Frank annals Bjorn is called *"Bier Costae Ferrae, Lothbroci Regis filius"*, which indicates his descent from Herioldus Brochus. The word *filius* is used as his father Ragnar, would have been known as Ragnar 'Lothbrok' being of the House of Brochus (See Ulvungar Dynasty Genealogy II). Equally the word *filius* may be construed as

‘descendant’ as it is sometimes used in other documents.

Sigfrid, called Frotha in the *Annals of Clonmacnois*, makes his first appearance in history during the Danish occupation of Ireland, in the company of his brother Awuslir (a distortion of Burislav – see following). He left Ireland but returned with his brother Ivar (Bagsaeg) in 852 (*Annals of Innisfallen*). Ivar occupied Limerick and Frotho established himself at Waterford. His name in the annals was at that time Sitric. He seems to have left Ireland, as we find him later in the same year moving up the Seine to join the forces of his brother Bjorn. The following winter was passed in a camp but in the spring he took his forces to the Loire. He was wounded during the siege of Nantes that summer. In 855 he sailed up the Seine and penetrated as far as Perche in Champagne (*Chron. Fontaneille*, in Perche). His name in the Frank annals is Sidroc.

After these events Frotho seems to have retired to Denmark. He did not take an active part in the conquest of East-Anglia — and Northumberland. The leaders of these operations were his brother Ivar Bagsaeg and his son Gorm (Guthrum). Frotho was too old and may also have suffered from his wound. Yet the chronicles have given him the cognomen ‘Victor Anglia’s’ since he was the king of Denmark under whose auspices the conquest was successfully carried out. He is also called ‘Anglicus I’ and his son, who was the actual conqueror, is known as ‘Anglicus II, in Danish ‘hin Enske’. Frotho’s brother Ivar was killed at the battle of Ashdown (Assandune) in 871.

After the sanguinary battle of Saultcourt in 881 when the combined forces of the Vikings in Gaul had been thoroughly routed by Louis of France, the peoples of Western Europe were hoping for a long breathing space; but already in November that year a new army of invaders moved up the Meuse and took up winter quarters at Haslou. The commanders of this force were Sigfrid and Godfrid, both styled kings in the chronicles. Sigfrid was the son of Hemming, King of Denmark (‘Siwarth Hemminag sun’, *Series Runica Prima*) and Godfrid was his nephew, the son of Harald king of South Jutland, whom some chroniclers have mistaken for Helge, the father of Gorm Grandaevus. Sigfrid had with him his son Gorm (Wurm) and his brother Halfdan** (contracted Hals or Half, short for Halfdanus), both designated princes (See references). They moved up the Meuse and took up winter-quarters in a fortified camp at Eslo not far from Maastricht.

The following summer this army seized and ravaged the towns of Maastrich, Liege, Coblenz, Cologne and Bonn and the surrounding country; in Aachen they turned the Imperial palace into a stable for their horses, while other imperial castles such as Zilpich, Jülich and Nuys were burnt to the ground, as were the rich monasteries of Pruy, Stablo and Malmedy. After this display of barbaric warfare in the heart of the Emperor’s domain the Viking army returned to their camp at Eslo. The Emperor Charles-le-Gras raised a large army to destroy these invaders and their camp was besieged. Yet Sigrid and Godfrid won the battle -not by superior courage and military experience, but as a result of a very simple ruse and the lavish use of bribes. An agreement was eventually signed according to which the invaders were bought off by treasure in gold and silver to the amount of more than two thousand pounds, which was a huge sum in those days, against a pledge to abandon imperial territory and not return. Both kings agreed to be baptized. Godfrid obtained all Frieze-land, including the fief previously held by king Harald and his son Godfrid, from the mouth of the Weser in the north to the mouth of the Scheldt in the south. Not on this occasion, as some chronicles state, but on another, the Emperor bestowed upon him in marriage Gisella, daughter of the late king Lothair of Lorraine, and his first cousin. All this seems incredible, yet more natural if we keep in mind that the Lodebrochi claimed descent from Hlodio and Ataulf, the rulers of

Friezeland earlier, when Gaul was a Roman province.

Godfrid did not long enjoy his exalted position. In 885 he fell into a trap cleverly set by the Emperor himself, the Bishop of Cologne, and the Counts Henry of Saxon-Thuringen and Everard of Friuli, whose interests he had grievously injured. He arrived, in the company of his wife, unarmed and with insufficient escort for a conference with the three last mentioned gentlemen. After a short dispute and an angry retort by Godfrid, he was cut down by Count Everard and killed. So were his men. The Bishop withdrew. He had persuaded Queen Gisella to quit her husband before this murder took place.

After the murder of Godfrid, Sigfrid became the leader of all the Viking operations in France including the besieging of Paris in 885. He returned to Friesland the same year, but was killed in 887. The Danish kings Gorm (alias Guthrum) and Gorm (alias Gormeric and Gorm-hin-rikhe) have often been mistaken for each other and on the following grounds. They were both styled kings in Denmark, they had the same first name and they were both the sons of kings with the first name Sigfrid (alias Frotho). In fact, they were second cousins and ruled over different parts of England.

The elder Frotho, who was a cousin of the younger king with the same name, was one of the leaders of the great Danish expedition to Ireland in 833. His son Guthrum whose Christian name was Athelstan, conquered East Anglia, but apparently he gave his father the honour of this conquest. Thus Series Runica Prima says "*Frotho kunung han van Engeland, Gorm kunung An-ske*" (Frotho rex qui Angliam vicit, Gormo Anglicus rex). Guthrum was defeated by king Alfred in 878 but was allowed to remain in England on condition that he became a Christian. According to some authorities he died in 890, while others say 891. The younger Frotho surnamed the Frisian, (In Danish records 'hin Frikhe' a contraction of Frisian. Some authors have translated this into Latin as 'Vegetus' which is incorrect), son of Hemming, son of Halfdan, son of Herioldus, was the father of Gormeric, prince of Denmark and later king of Northumberland with the Christian name Guthred. He was also called 'hin-rikhe' which means 'the rich'. The annals of St. Bertin mention that Sigfrid and Gorm in 882 extorted a Danageld of several thousand pounds silver and gold. His share in this indemnity seems to offer a plausible explanation of his cognomen. After Sigfrid's death in 887 Gorm, was elected king of Northumberland, but was killed in a battle with Godfrey king of Dublin in 894.

An old French manuscript in the Bibliotheque Nationale (Ms francais 20780, earlier quoted *Généalogie d'Allemagne*, Cabinet des tires 20. 780, fols. 221-23) belonging to the collection of Mézeray, contains the following passage:

"Roger Gommer I du nom fit bastir la ma(aison) nomma de son surnom et de la situation du lieu qui lui escheut au département de Normandie. Il fut le premier comte de Montgomery et l'un des princes qui accompagnerent le Duc Roul (should be Sigfroi) a la conquete de Neustrie environ l'an 885, du quel vindret Guillaume I premier du nom, et Bernard surnommé le Danois qui fut gouverneur du jeune Duc Richard et lequel par sa grande prudence et sagesse sauva la vie et l'Estat dudit Richard".

Le Marquis du Four de La Londe wrote in a letter (28th Jan. 1948) on the subject of this manuscript: "*Its provenance is interesting, because Mézeray was a Norman, from the same parts where the Montgomery were known and had their estates. United through the bonds of family and friendship with all the nobles and all the great men in the vicinity of Argentan, he had a better opportunity than anybody else of informing himself about their genealogies and to get access to their archives. Moreover, he was a learned man and a first rate researcher. Eudes de Mezeray (1611-83) was the*

historiographer of Louis XIV and the permanent secretary of the French Academy”.

The only Danish prince with the name of Gorm, who took part in the battles of Neustrie in 885, was the son of Sigfrid the Frisian. After the death of Gorm (Gormeric, Guthred) in 894 his eldest son Ragnar (In French Roger) returned to Neustrie. According to the Nordic custom he used his father's name plus the ending *son* as a cognomen (Ragnar Gormsson – In French Roger Go(r)merici). He was also called Roger Magnus in 911 when he, now a Christian count, restored the devastated convent of Sancta Opportuna (Cartullary in Bibl.Nat) in the proximity of Saint Germain de Montgomery. He is no doubt identical with Count Roger who played such an important part in the negotiations between Louis d'Outremer and William Longsword of Normandy, one of his most intimate friends. He died in Normandy soon afterwards in 912. (See Montgomery Millennium p.1, but some have confused him with his son also Roger – see also Richerii Historarium II, ch. 28). His grandson William, who bore the same Christian name as the Duke was the grandfather of Count Hugh and great grandfather of Count Roger who was second-in-command to William the Conqueror.

Among Rollo's nearest relations were his uncle Helgi and his cousin Gorm Grandaevus, both kings of Denmark. *Series Runica Prima* makes 'Gorm Kunung hin Gamle' the son of 'Hartald Kunung Biorns sun'. Yet we know from the Irish annals that the sons of Gorm the Old were called Mac Elchi (or Elgi), and Gorm himself is referred to as 'Tomar Mac Elchi' i.e. Gorm the son of Helge. Moreover the same annals record his two sons, Canute who was killed in Ireland 936, and Harald surnamed Bluetooth, well known to history. The name of Gorm's father therefore was Helgi. Adam of Bremen, who was in direct communication with the Danish king Sven Estridsson (1047-76), further affirms this conclusion by the statement that Helge or Heilligo from 891, where the flower of the Danish nobility perished. Since Bjorn Ironside is recorded as the grandfather of Gorm Grandaevus and Helge as his father, Helge must be the son of Bjorn. Rollo's uncle Helge (Helcius) is mentioned by William of Jumieges, in an interpolation quoted by Ordericus Vitalis with reference to Roger de Toni (Teny, Toeni). In the Benedictine version of this manuscript he is said to "*belong to the lineage of the wicked Hulcius*" (*de stripe mala Hulcius*). Helge was the paternal uncle of Rollo and his companion in arms during the conquest of Normandy. This reading is undoubtedly correct; but Dudo calls him Malahulcius, i.e. Helge with the divided chin, though I suspect this is merely poor Medieval Latin pun.

Rollo's Names:

There is some dispute as to Rollo's ancestry and nationality at the time of his invasion of Normandy. Recently historians including David Crouch and myself have come to the conclusion that Richer of Rheims was right to call Rollo's father Keitel. However whilst Prof. Crouch leaves the matter there I have, with the help of my distant cousin the late Dr. B. G. Montgomery, been able to piece together a genealogy.

Snorre Sturluson who wrote his saga of the Scandinavian kings at the beginning of the 13th century makes Rollo the son of the Norwegian earl Rognvald of More. Many arguments have been raised for and against this unproven statement. As a rule the Norwegian historians have supported Snorre, while the Danes have relied on the much earlier chronicles of France, Britain, Germany and Denmark, and claim him for their own country. There is no doubt that in this discussion patriotic feelings have sometimes obscured the conclusions drawn by the contending parties; but such feelings are particularly out of place in this connection, since Rollo, strictly speaking, was neither a Norwegian nor a Dane, but an Orkney man, a Hunedane, and a native of Moere in Sweden, though the son of a Danish king. (There is some disagreement amongst scholars, but this is the opinion of B.G.Montgomery and myself)

Some Historians of other countries have also sided against Snorre. The literature on this controversial subject includes the following books and essays:

- J. Lair, *Introductory Notes to Dudon de Saint-Quentin, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquitaires de Normandie*, 1885
- J. Worsac, *Den danske Erobring af England og Normanniet*, 1863
- J. Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, 1873-82
- E. Wahlberg, *Sur l'Origine de Rollon*, 1913
- J. Revel, *Historie des Normans*, 1918
- B.G. Montgomery, *Ancient Migrations and Royal Houses*, 1968

In 'Rollo och Gange Rolf', *Historisk Tidskrift for Skaneland*, 1911, reissued in *Nordisk Historia* in 1948, the Swedish professor Lauritz Weibull took it upon himself to teach his Danish and Norwegian colleagues a lesson in the methods of historical inquiry. His own views on the subject of Rollo's descent and nationality are summed up in the following passage: "*All we can determine historically is that Dudo and tradition after him in Normandy turned the rather vague Dacia into the homeland of Rollo and his men. This tradition is the oldest, a century younger than Rollo. At the same time Northmannia and Northmanni, the earlier names of the northern countries and the northmen, had developed, on the one hand, into 'Norway and Norwegians, and on the other, into Normandy and Normans. As early as the 11th century the foundation of Normandy is attributed to Norway, and in the next century Rollo is expressly mentioned as a Norwegian. By the combination of an Irish and an Icelandic tradition Rollo is turned into the Viking, who at the time of Harald Fair-Hair raided Viken, and having been banished won a new country in Normandy*". But, as we shall see presently, there are several other important points, which have escaped the attention of the learned professor.

Rollo Dux Dannorum or Northmannorum, a Sea King and a French Count, appears in the chronicles under many different names: Hrolf the Ganger, Gange-Rolf, Gange Rolf, Gange-Hrolfr, Hrolleifus, Going Rolf, Rolvo, Rolfus, Rolus, Roleff, Reolfus, Roes, Rodeo, Rodla and Rosus. The name given to him on becoming a Christian was Robert (Robertus, Rodbertus). He seems also to have been given several cognomens such as Haesten, and Hunedanus (corrupted from Hunedeus and Huncdeus) with special stress on his nationality as an Orkney Dane. In the isle of

Gotland he was known as Roes, and as a native of Moere, he was called Moericus.

Haesten

Addressing the General Assembly of the *Société de l'Histoire de Normandie* on 28th July, 1880 the honorary president of that illustrious society made the following reference to the *Norman Chronicles*:

“Gentlemen, the Norman Chieftain Rollo had hardly transformed himself into a French duke [it should be count], when a monk, whose name remains unknown tried to outline a consecutive history of the Scandinavian invasions of France. This gifted scientist put his hands on several excellent chronicles, the Annales of Eginard, of Saint Bertin, of Saint Waast and also other chronicles of later date. He transcribed from each of them the passages dealing with the facts and acts of the Normans, and out of these extracts he made up the work known as the Norman chronicles (de Normanum Gestis de Francia)”.

This work contains the following passage referring to Rollo: *“Notre dus Hastens qui Sarrazins est (which meant pirate or viking), et nee de Danemarche”.*

This statement shows that Rollo was also called Hastens and that he was born in a territory under the Danish crown. At that time Hesten or Heesten was a common name in Sleswig; compare also Hengist, the Anglo-Saxon conqueror.

Another instance: The siege of Tours 883-5 has been described in several chronicles. Most of them call the Norman chieftain on this occasion Hastens, or Haesten, but Monachus Floriacensis makes Rollo the leader of the operations, because he was known under both names. (Ivar, the son of Ragnar/ Reginfrid) was also known under his surname, Bagsaeg. The Saxon chronicles and Florence of Worcester call him Haesten, which in Danish means horse. But he is also called Ganger, the other Danish word for horse. There might have been some truth in the old saying that this heavy chieftain could not find a horse strong enough to carry him, so he fought on foot. In other words, he was his own horse, (haest, ganger). All this makes Rollo's story much more comprehensible. A great Viking chief of his qualities, who achieved such far reaching and lasting results could not have passed unknown to the Norman historians and chroniclers until 911 when he made his first appearance in contemporary works under the name Rollo. It seems incredible that he should have arrived for the first time in Normandy the year before the country was handed over to him. There is no reason why we should not believe the very definite statement in the chronicles that *“Rollo and his band landed in Normandy on the fifteenth of the calends of December 876”.*

It is most important also to place on record that William of Malmesbury quotes the following statement of William the conqueror: *“Hastinagus, antecessorum nostrum”* (Haesten, our ancestor). It seems obvious that King William here referred to the founder of the Norman dynasty, Rollo.

Hunedanus

The Hunaland of the *Edda* has often been identified with Saxony, but we (B. G. Montgomery and myself) have found no facts to support this statement. To judge by the linguistic toponymy Hunaland must be the ancient Scandinavian name for the north of Scotland and the Orkneys and be connected with the tribe of Canine-fates, who settled in those parts. They had the dog as their totem, hence their Latin name. In their own language the Latin *canis*, the English *dog* or *hound*, the Danish *hund* and the Icelandic *hunde* was *huna*. The names *Hundeus* and *Hunedeus* in the French chronicles are a Latinization of *Hunde*.

The Chatti (who had the Cat as their totem, hence the word Chat, Cat and of course Clan Chattan, the clan of the Cats) have given their name to Caithness where they settled long before the Gaelic invasion of Scotland. The Canine-fates were a continental tribe of Chatti who once occupied the Ruhr valley. In the time of the Emperor Julianus they were attacked and defeated by the Romans and their country was placed under Roman domination about A.D. 400. This tribe eventually found refuge among their kinsmen the Chatti of Scotland. On old Latin maps we find the names Canisbay, Canenesby and Caninusby in Caithness. On old English maps Canisbay is given its Chatic name Huna Bay, which means the same thing, and we find both Huna Inn and Huna Ness in Canisbay parish. Hunda Island amongst the Orkneys also reminds us of the Canine-fates, but the name appears in its Danish form.

In order to distinguish the Danes of the Orkney Islands from those of Jutland and Lethre they seem to have been called *Hunedani*. It should be noted in this connection that the large estates in Suffolk recorded in the *Domesday Book* as Hunedana and Hunendana were held by Rollo's lineal descendant, Richard Comte de Brionne, a great-grandson of Richard I.

One must bear these facts in mind when considering the following statements in the chronicles:

1. In *Annals Vedastine* A.D. 895-6 we read: "At the same time the Northmen with their Duke whose name was Hunedeus with five barges entered the Seine. . . . the Northmen in increased numbers entered the Oise shortly before Christmas".
2. *Chron. de Gestis Norm. in Francia* A.D.895 (ed. Duchesne) has recorded the same expeditions but calls the leader Rollo: 'The Northmen again with their Duke, who is named Rollo, entered the Seine, and before Christmas day moved up the Oise with their numbers increased'.
3. *Chron. Rerum Septentrionalium* refers to the same events but calls the leader Rodo

Now it often happened with the Vikings, who had been baptized, that they returned to their Odonic faith after a time, and this was apparently the case with Rollo.

Annales Vedastini A.D. 896 state: "*Charles indeed raised up Huncdeus from the font*". The form Huncdeus in these *Annales* is undoubtedly a corruption. *Sigebertus Gemblaciensis* refers to the same event: "*King Charles caused Hunedeus, King of the Northmen to be baptized and raised him up from the font*".

These statements seem to indicate that Rollo was baptized twice, since he had to undergo the same procedure in pursuance of the treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte in 912. Some chronicles state that he had a second relapse and sacrificed a hundred victims to Thor and Woden before his death in order to appease the anger of these dreaded and perhaps also beloved gods of his ancestors. Perhaps he never really

became a Christian!

The name Hunedanus was quite in keeping with Chattic and Visigothic practice. It would indicate that he was an Orkney Dane and more especially that his father was of Danish and his mother of Chattic descent. His full name was Rollo Hunedanus *alias* Haesten. Before his first christening he seems to have been generally known under either of his surnames and we may therefore assume that his first Christian name was Rollo. On the occasion of his second baptism, the name of the relapsed pagan had to be changed and he was given that of his sponsor Robert, Duke of France, second son of Robert le Fort. Though styled officially Robert I, Count of Rouen, he was known to the world as Rollo, Duke of the Normans.

Moericus

Saemundre Sigfuson, the first of the Icelandic historians (1056-1133), is said to have travelled abroad. He probably visited both London and Paris. During his studies he had no doubt access to a copy of Dudo's history of Normandy (*Acta Normannorum*) completed before 1026. The passage in which Dudo describes the conqueror of Normandy as *Rollo Moericus* must then have caught his eye and the Icelandic may well have jumped to the conclusion that Rollo must have been connected in some way with Sondmor, south west of Trondhjem. We may assume that this information was passed on to his successors among the storytellers of Iceland, Are Frode, Snorre Sturluson, Sturla Thorvarson, Sturme and Haukr, and that the whole story of Gangfu Hrolfr in Snorre's Saga was constructed around Dudo's statement. As a matter of fact there is no evidence to prove that there was a province of Moere or even Sondmor in Norway at the time of Rollo, nor indeed that a jarl of Moere by the name of Ragnvald has ever existed. The whole story of Snorre is extremely inconsistent and must be treated with the utmost circumspection. This applies also to *Heimskringla* according to which the fabulous Moere Jarl was murdered by some of King Harald's sons.

Snorre spent a long time at the court of the Norwegian King Haakon Haakonson. He is known to have been very avaricious Haakon Haakonson. He is known to have been very avaricious and there is no doubt that parts of his Sagas were written under the influence of drink. Fables and other products of wild imagination are mixed with historical facts into a magic brew. Yet Snorre has an extraordinary faculty of presenting fiction as facts in a manner that looks convincing. Errors are therefore better hidden than in the works of Richerius and Dudo, whence his better reputation with those historians who recognise only superficially his methods of research and his art of presenting the offshoots of his sick mind as true facts. A summary of the mistakes, intentional or unintentional, in Snorre's Sagas would fill volumes. Only a few are mentioned here.

As a general observation it may be said that he had the Icelandic's deeply rooted hatred of the kings of Norway at the back of his mind when writing their history, even though he was dependent on their bounty. His description of the matrimonial affairs of Harald Fair Hair is gruesome and distasteful and he deprived that great monarch of his true genealogy, turning him into a descendant of Ingiald the Malevolent, whereas his true progenitor was Herioldus Brochus *alias* Hildetand. This deliberate and insidious falsification of facts may have been the reason why Snorre was eventually murdered, probably at the instigation of the Norwegians. The imaginary king Ivar Widefathom, who should have lived four generations before the equally imaginary Ragnar Lothbroc is turned into a contemporary of Helge Vasse, whose mother was Ragnar's grand-daughter – a gap of seven generations.

Harald Fair Hair was born about 860. Snorre states that he conquered Trondheim five years later, aged 5! He has fathered upon this king twenty- three sons. Among these are recorded Torgils and Frode who conquered the seat of Dublin in 838 i.e. twenty-two years before the birth of their supposed father!

Even in the case of more recent events he gives his imagination free play. Thus he tells us the following story of William the Conqueror: "*The day he mounted his horse to ride from the castle to his ships, his wife came forward to speak to him. When he saw this he kicked her with his heel so that the stirrup penetrated her chest and she fell down dead on the spot. But the Earl rode to the ships and embarked with his army for England*". (As we know; Queen Mathilda was crowned in London in 1068 and her son John was born the same year. She died in 1083, seventeen years after the conquest).

Let us hope that these examples may be enough to prove that Snorre Sturluson is not entitled to be quoted as an authority against Dudo and Richerus.

The Landnámabók, which was partly compiled under the personal supervision of Snorre must be treated with the same cautious scepticism. The detailed pedigrees, which seem to be worked out with great precision, are most impressive, but are in many cases sheer inventions. Thus for instance all the pedigrees from Queen Aud Djup-Udga (The Very Rich) must be ruled out. Aud Djup-Udga was the imaginary daughter of the imaginary king Ivar Widefathom and was certainly not married to King Olaf the White of Dublin, who lived two centuries later than these personalities are alleged to have flourished. The wife of this king is known from the Irish chronicles. He married Ligach only daughter of Aodh Finlaith King of Erin and Maolmhuire, daughter of Kenneth King of Scotland.

After Olaf's death Ligach married Congal King of Erin. The compilers of the Landnamabok have apparently turned the Irish king Aodh into a queen, who was made the ancestral mother of many settlers in Iceland. They must have mistaken the genitive of the king's name for a woman's name and translated *Aodhs* daughter* (see References) into *daughter Audlha*, which makes a great difference. The whole story of Queen Aud Djup-Udga and all her descendants is nothing but a fraud originally based on a false transliteration.

The same compilers have seen to it that Rollo left a daughter in Scotland from whom many settlers in Iceland claim descent. The French, Saxon and Irish chronicles know nothing about this offspring of the Norman duke. She may have existed, but from the point of view of historical research it seems more correct to make her keep company with queen Aud the Very Rich and to regard her merely as a subject of Snorre's vivid imagination. The same judgement must be passed on Ragnvald of Moere and all his imaginary sons. Thanks to the Norwegian explorer Wulstan's report to king Alfred, however, we know with absolute certainty that a territory with name of Moere existed at the time of Rollo, not in Norway, but in what is now the Swedish province of Smaland. This territory might be included in Dudo's ambiguous expression Dacia, as having a population of Visigoths, whom Dudo like the Greek historians would identify with the Getae of the Roman province Dacia on the bank of the Danube. In the Middle Ages the Scandinavian students at the University of Paris were grouped under the heading Daciae.

At the time of Rollo there were strong fortified places both in Moere and in Oland, which seems to have formed the nucleus of a military base for the defence of the Baltic region. Now the fact is that the same kings ruled both over this base and over the extremely important strategic base, which is now known under the name of Scapa Flow. We shall return to this question presently in connection with our search for the father and grandfather of Rollo. Since Rollo's territories stretched from the Orkney Islands to the Baltic country of Moere, Dudo had as good a right to call him 'Moericus', as other French chroniclers to give him the name Hunedanus.

Snorre tells us that the fabulous Moere Jarl, Rollo's pretended father, was Harald's dearest friend. It does not seem likely, therefore, that his son descended on Viken as an enemy and was then outlawed by the king and expelled from Norway. If Rollo ever raided Viken it is far more probable that he did this in order to establish a claim of inheritance or to avenge some wrong he had suffered. This again would suggest that Rollo or the family to which he belonged had held that province. Finally there is no reason to believe that Harald ever conquered Viken.

In order to improve Snorre's story some writers have identified the Viken to which he refers with places within near reach of Sondermore. Thus Thomas Carlyle writes; "*Rolf, son of Rognvald, was lord of three little inlets far north, near the fjord of*

Folden, called the three Vigten Islands". But even this explanation does not make Snorre's version any more digestible to a modern historian. On many occasions Snorre has referred to Viken and it is quite clear from the context that he means the province on the west coast of Sweden, which was called Ranrike or Ragnarike and is now called Bohuslan.

Roes (or Rhoes or Rollo)

The Roes stone in the parish of Grotlingbo in the Baltic island of Gottland has long been considered an unsolvable riddle. If however, we regard it as an illustration of a certain event in Rollo's life, then perhaps we can ascertain its meaning.

Archaeologists have not, so far as I am aware, been able to ascertain the period to which this stone belongs, but it might very well be a product of the ninth century. It depicts a horse chased by a bird, possibly the hawk of Uouin or the raven of Woden. What is then the connection between this petroglyph and Rollo? The answer is that the great Viking chieftain was alternately called Roes (in Gottland russ which means horse), Haesten (which is Danish for horse), and Ganger (which is another Danish word for horse), and that the stone depicts the scene when Rollo for some reason or other was driven out of the country by the king, possibly Anund.

This monument is in sandstone and quite small, only 33 x 22 x 3.5 inches. The inscription in Runic letters reads: "*iudh (Udu, Uduin, Odin, Gud) I(a)g(a)r r(oes) h(aste)n*" (*Woden drives out Roes the Horse*). So Rollo is driven out by the King, representative of Woden! Why? Perhaps because he had accepted baptism and was no longer the representative of Woden as he had been!

Keitel's (Askettil's) Son

Dudo, dean of Saint-Quentin, who wrote the first history of Normandy was rather an historiographer than a historian. He served three masters: Richard I of Normandy, known as Sans-Peur, who entrusted him with the task of writing it, his son Richard II, and bishop Adelberon of Laon, who attended to the interests of the Church and scrutinized his manuscript. He began to write in 994 A.D.

His chief informant was Raoul d'Ivry, uterine brother of Richard-sans-Peur, whose mother Sprota married secondly Asperleng de Vaudreuil, Raoul's father. Although not himself a descendant of Rollo, Raoul's father showed great interest in the history of the Norman dynasty to which he was so closely related through his mother. We may reasonably assume that he knew the names of Rollo's father and grandfather but that for some reason or other, after consulting his brother, he decided that these names should not be made public; and that consequently he instructed Dudo to that effect. It was certainly not in the interest of the Duke to make the clergy aware of the direct affiliation of the Ducal house to Bier Costae Ferrae or any other Viking chief whose acts of violence were fresh in the memory, and particularly if they claimed descent not only from Odin but also from the Davidic line of Jesus.

That Dudo found himself in a precarious position appears clearly from the following passage in the preface to his book; "*It is what he (Raoul) has told me that I have written in this book with mixed feelings – surprised, shaking, stupefied, frightened, doubtful*". ***Small wonder for a monk to find that your patron claims descent from Jesus himself!*** On the other hand, it shows that Dudo felt his responsibility to posterity notwithstanding that he wrote under instruction. It must be recognized that *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum* is primarily the work of Raoul d'Ivry even if Dudo has wielded the pen.

It seems a pity that several relevant facts have been excluded for political reasons. Those we have received must therefore be studied with all the more attention whilst always keeping in mind that the source of information is the Ducal house itself. We shall attempt to deal with a few of them.

Dudo does not give the name of Rollo's father. He only refers to him as an Oriental Potentate in the following terms: "*Erat enim omnium Orientalium.praepotentissimus*". Dudo has been criticised for this statement but those who criticise only show their own ignorance. They forget, or do not seem to know, of the Scandinavian rulers in Russia, which to the people of Dudo's time was certainly judged *oriental*. As we shall see presently, Dudo's reference to Rollo's father seems quite in keeping with the historical background.

The chronicles of Nantes have made the following annotation for the year 876: "*Rollo duke of the Normans disembarked on the coast of Gaul*" and Dudo has this version of the venture:

"In the year 876 A.D. and since he had conferred with his confidants the noble Rollo set sail and left, with the wind aft, the mouth of the river Schelde in order to travel by sea to the point where the blue water of the river Seine discharges.He penetrated with his fleet of hostile ships as far as Jumieges. The impoverished people and the little merchants who were prevented from continuing their trade at Rouen on account of his occupation of the river, and all inhabitants of this district who had been informed that a well-armed force of Northmen had reached Jumieges, came to see Franco, bishop of Rouen, in order to discuss with him what measures should be taken".

Dudo's critics have pointed out, that the name of the bishop of Rouen at that

time was not Franco, but Johannes and that consequently the whole of Dudo's version of the events connected with Rollo's first invasion of Normandy must be inaccurate. Such a sweeping judgement on grounds so flimsy is unjustifiable. We must not forget that one of king Charles's most intimate friends and his councillor was Franco, bishop of Tongres, who having been informed of Rollo's departure from Schelde left for Rouen in order to organize the defence. It seems likely therefore that Dudo simply mistook Johannes for Franco, who in fact became bishop of Rouen at a somewhat later date.

The Anglo-Saxon chronicle (MS Domitian A. VIII) contains an interpolation stating that Rodla penetrated into Normandy in A.D. 876. Benjamin Thorpe, the editor of this chronicle, makes the following reference to this note: "*The date of Rolf's landing in France seems to be correctly given, at least it accords with Ordericus Vitalis and Florence of Worcester*". The point is that this expedition was Rollo's *first landing* in Normandy.

Probably on the authority of the Norman chronicles, Florence of Worcester states that "*Rollo and his followers landed in Normandy on the fifteenth of the calends of Dec. (17th Nov.) 876.*" This passage has been copied by other chroniclers and Mathew archbishop of Canterbury seems to be responsible for its interpolation in the manuscript used for his printed edition of Bishop Asser's *Life of King Alfred* (1574). Many historians have been misled into thinking that this interpolation formed part of the original manuscript of Bishop Asser, who was a contemporary of Rollo's. In a note to his Oxford edition of Asser's work published in 1904 William Stevenson writes: "*Many difficulties have arisen from the acceptance of this date of the settlement of Rollo in Normandy, which is obviously wrong*". Stevenson is right in stating that the *settlement* did not take place at that time, but he is decidedly not entitled to dismiss this important passage on such a ground; because it does not refer to a settlement, but merely to a first landing of Rollo's forces in Normandy. Even if this passage was interpolated at a later date in Archbishop Mathew's edition of Asser's work, it must be recognized that it was based on almost contemporary evidence, which the editor was prepared to accept.

There is no doubt that Rollo made a descent on Neustrie in 876 with that part of the Viking army which left England after the first conclusion of peace between king Alfred and king Athelstan, *alias* Guthrum and that his invasion was somewhat delayed owing to the fact that his fleet had been wind-driven onto the Isle of Walcheren. It should be noticed that, before the appearance of the Icelandic storywriters, it was generally recognized that Rollo made his first attack on France in 876. The Norman and Saxon chronicles present a united front on this point. The Norwegians did not appear in French waters until more than thirty years later. In order to comply with the wish of Icelandic writers, historians who were impressed by the statements of these self-confident charlatans, promptly dismissed the evidence produced by the much older chronicles, accordingly postponing the time for Rollo's first invasion of France. But since the Earl of Moere, his many sons and his earldom are simply phantoms of a lively imagination we had better stick to the more reliable and contemporary sources of the monks' chronicles. After all they were the ones whose monasteries got sacked and should know better than most when this happened.

Richerus (Richerius, Richer) a Benedictine monk of Saint-Remi at Rheims, wrote the continuation of Hincmar's famous annals dealing with the latter part of the Viking Age. He was Dudo's contemporary, but in contrast to Dudo he was under no restrictions on his work for the sake of the Norman dukes. He even called Rollo a pirate prince. His father was a warrior in the service of the French king, Louis d'Outremer and lived very near the time of Rollo. He belonged to the king's

bodyguard and distinguished himself during the assaults on Laon and Mons. We might expect that he had a good deal to tell his son about the Norman duke, which makes the history of Richerus a work of first rate importance. Even if he may be wrong in some of his facts the information he gives is of far superior quality to that of the Icelandic stories. It must be treated with reverence and should never be dismissed without clear evidence of its inaccuracy. His manuscript was discovered by Pertz at the beginning of the last century in the cathedral library of Bamberg.

Richerus makes Rollo the son of Catillus. He writes: "*Irruperanty enim duce Rollone, filio Catilli, intra Neustriam repenti, anno 911*". The interpolation, here in Italics, has been added later, but experts seem to be of the opinion that it is written in Richer's hand.

In his book quoted above le Marquis de Saint-Pierre makes the surprising statement that Richerus has given Rollo the Viking Kettil of the Hebrides as father. On the next page he declares that Richerus, according to an old tradition from Chartres, made Kettil, Count of the Hebrides, (killed at Limoges 892) Rollo's father. These allegations do not give Richerus a fair chance, for statements have been attributed to him, which he never made. There is not a word in his chronicles about either the Viking Kettil or the Count Kettil of the Hebrides. Fascinated by the Icelandic pedigrees, which have the appearance of trustworthiness, the author of *Rollon devant l'Histoire*, has been carried away by his own thoughts and by his clearly demonstrated conviction that Catillus mentioned by the Benedictine monk could be none other than the Icelanders' Kettil Flatnoze. Yet Godfrid, son of Feargus, is styled chief of Fingall in 835 and chief of the Isles in 851 (*Annals of the Four Masters*). Moreover, Olav king of Denmark is designated king of the land in Ireland called Fingall in 832 (*Annals of Clonmacnois* 829). This does not give room for the imaginary figure of 'Kettil le Camus, roi des Isles'.

In France and England Rollo's descent from Bjorn Ironside is supported by a very strong tradition. Robert Wace opened his versified history of the Dukes of Normandy with a great epic glorifying this Viking king. It seems quite clear from the context that Wace, and no doubt his informants about the middle of the twelfth century, considered Bjorn as the ancestor of Rollo.

An ancient document in Bibl. Royale in Paris (MS. Latin 5195 published by Francisque Michel) contains the following statement translated from Latin into Old French: "*Rou premier duc de Normandie fu native de Dannermarche, filz [in the sense of descendant] d'un très noble et puissant homme nommé Bierte Coste-Serrée, seigneur de Yrd et de Boure, qui sont deux grands terres et seigneuries en royaume de Dannemarche*".

The lands recorded in the above manuscript are not to be found in Denmark proper, but in the Danish dependencies of that period, the Orkneys and Caithness. Sutherland is divided from Caithness by the river Ord and Burray is an island in the Orkneys. This island commands the entry to the Scapa Flow, the finest harbour in Europe, excellently situated from a strategical point of view. It is no wonder that Ragnhalla and his sons had chosen just this spot from which to launch their formidable raids on any coast of Europe. The name Boure also recalls the name Burs in Gotland. The parish of Groetlingbo, where the Roes Stone was raised is situated between Burs and Bursvik. These places may have had the character of *Terra Regis* held by the house of Lothbroc.

In 1840 Michel published another ancient document, which throws some light on Rollo's descent (*Histoire des Ducs de Normandie et des Rois d'Angleterre*). The first part of this manuscript is also a translation from older Latin documents. The following quotation is particularly interesting in this connection:

*“Puis montepliièrent tant li Danois en la tierre de Dannemarche que derechief le
convint jeter en escl. En la terre avoit eu novellement mort .i. haut homme qui avoit à
non Bier Coste-Fierrée. Dues fils avoit: Roule et Burin. . . .”*

If the original manuscript as appears from the text dates back from the time when Bier had recently died it cannot have been written later than the beginning of the tenth century and in the life-time of Rollo. That his brother bore the Russian name Burin (Burins), which means Bjorn, makes it more likely that he was the grandson but not the son of Bjorn. Consequently one generation is missing. This gap, as we have seen, has been covered by Richerus. We are now in a position to sum up the principal points of the chronicles and manuscripts under review.

- Dudo makes it clear that Rollo's father was an oriental potentate.
- Richerus gives his name in Latin – Catillus.
- His name in the Saxon chronicles is Osetil, which in Swedish is Asakettill and in Russian Ascold.
- The Nordic chieftain who was duke of Kiev about 880 bore the name of Ascold. To call him an oriental potentate would be correct.
- There was an irresistibly strong tradition in France and England centuries before the Icelandic story-tellers appeared on the scene, that Rollo descended from Bjorn Ironside and that his first descent on Neustrie took place in 876.
- Archbishop Mathew's interpolation in Bishop Asser's manuscript was misleading from a bibliographical point of view, but historically sound. Dudo gave Rollo the surname Moericus indicating that he was born in the hundred of Moere and that his father was at the time a petty-king of that part of south Sweden.
- Snorre has caused much confusion by his statement that the sons of Harald Fair Hair, Togils and Frode, were the first Vikings who conquered Dublin. We know now with certainty that Harald was not born, still less his sons, when the Danish chieftains Turges and Frotho performed that deed, which was in 838.
- Ketil Flatnose of Llandnama fame belongs to the same class of unhistorical personalities. All we know about him is that as a contemporary of Harald's sons he would have been at least seventy years younger than his supposed son-in-law; that Olav the White did not marry his daughter; that her name was not Aud-the-very-rich; that owing to an error of translation the compilers of the Landnama bok mistook the Irish king Aodh or Aedh for a queen whom they called Audá; that Kettil Flatnose was never king of the Isles nor Count of the Hebrides, and that consequently we must regard him as a product of vivid Icelandic imagination.

These circumstances must be taken into consideration when we have to judge the value of Richerus as an historian in comparison with the Icelandic writers of several centuries later. The criticism launched by le Marquis de Saint-Pierre is very largely based on the Icelandic stories about Kettil, Aud and Rollo's invented bastard child in Scotland. This makes the position of Richerus all the stronger. If criticism must be based on such evidence and on arguments as weak, there is no reason whatsoever to doubt the truth of Richerus's statement that the name of Rollo's father was *Catillus*. Richerus a contemporary of Richard Sans-Peur and of his son and successor Richard le-Bon, born nearly two centuries before the Iclander Snorre in a civilized country, was an extremely well-informed man and was not, like Dudo, under the influence of the Norman dukes. Even if, now and then, he allowed his imagination free play, he must be regarded as a first rate authority and his evidence weights heavily 'jusqu' à preuve du contraire'.

It seems natural to look for Catillus in the first instance among the descendants of Brochus, who were the leaders of all the big Viking raids in Ireland, England and France. It is important to note that several of these kings and jarls figure at the same time as Danes, Norwegians, Swedes or Russians, since their dominions covered territories in several of these countries. Thus for instance the kings of Westfold in Norway were equally kings in Jutland, and kings of Upsala were sometimes kings of

Lethra, and some kings in Sweden were also lords of Hedeby in south Jutland. The Irish used the vague term 'king of Lochlann' to designate alternately Danish, Norwegian and Swedish kings.

We meet the house of Lothbroc for the first time in a body during their invasion of Ireland, which seems to have taken place about 833. The Annals of Clonmacnois give the names of the chief captains of the invading force. The leader of the expedition seems to have been Awuslir. We are here confronted with no less a person than Bjorn Ironside himself. Awuslir is an Irish distortion of Latin Ursival and Slavonic Surislav, which means 'the great bear'. He is undoubtedly identical with the only historically established king with this name in Scandinavia at that time, Bjorn-at-Haugi, who was king of Upsala and resided at Birka during St. Anscharius's visit to that place in 829.

It is in this company we recognise Rollo's father for the first time. His name in the Irish annals is alternately Osil, Osceytil, Oscetyl; in Saxon Oscytel, Oskytel. Os is Gaelic for Nordic Asa a designation suggesting descent from the deified kings of Norse Mythology (the Odonic Line – See God Kings of Europe Chap. 1). His full name in Swedish would be Asakettil, in some chronicles contracted into Askell. This chieftain was apparently well-known to the Irish chronicler who has recorded him as "*Ossil and the sons of Imar*".

Besides Bjorn and Oscetyl we find Bjorn's brother Sigfrid (cognomen Frotho, Fatha), who was king of Denmark when parts of England were conquered and therefore was honoured with the further cognomen Anglicus. Other warriors who served in this expedition were:

- a) Baron Robert, no doubt Robert-le-Fort, son of Theodebert or Thibaut, seigneur de Matrie, son of the Saxon chieftain Widukind d. 812 and the Danish princess Gheva, which explains his taking part in the Danish expedition, Count of Anjou and ancestor of the Capetian dynasty 866.
- b) Turges, identified with Raghnaill (Ragnvald) Godfridson, conqueror of Paris 845, younger brother of king Horic, killed in Ulster 847.
- c) Awley, identified with Olav Godfridson, king of Denmark.
- d) Imer, Ingvar son of Godfrid, king of Westfold, king of Dublin 872.
- e) Imer, Ivar, son of Ragnall Halvdanson, brother of Frotho and Bjorn, killed 871.
- f) Dowegean (Gaelic for Chatic Hund), Mac Dowgean is an Old Norse *Hunding*, cf. Cadowgean, contracted Cadogan, means Cat-Dog i.e. Lion-Dog.
- g) Ottar Duff (d'Uff for Ulvung) cf. family Mac Duff, and Torbert Duff, probably a younger son.
- h) Goslyn, cp. Gauzlin, the bishop who defended Paris in 885, and Gosceline, Abbot of St. Germain-des-Pres, fl 889. Goslyn from Gosling, young goose

Goslyn, Swanchean (Swanshield) and Griffin (Gripen) bore apparently heraldic figures on their shields. This is important to notice, since it is generally held that the first heraldic arms of chivalry appeared in France about 1150, i.e. after the second crusade and under Oriental influence. However, some of the heraldic names mentioned in connection with the Danish invasion of Ireland seem to suggest that the Vikings, who had frequent connections with Greece and Persia, had adopted heraldic figures well over three centuries earlier. The Griffin (Lat. Gryphus) was used as a symbol among the Hittites more than 2000 years B.C. and the Goose as a symbol was known in the Sumerian kingdom of Mesopotamia even before that time.

Here is yet another item showing the connection of the Odonic line with ancient Messopo-tamia. By the Vikings they were originally used for military purposes as the marks of a special *hundred*, or Gaelic *clan*.

Many writers have committed the mistake of identifying the 'black foreigners', *Dubh-Galls*, with the Danes and the 'white foreigners', *Finn-Galls*, with the Norwegians. These designations may have referred to hair and complexion or to the black or white shields carried by the warriors in battle, but it should be clearly understood that there were fair men among the Danes and dark men among the Norwegians. It was not until after the union of Norway about A.D. 900 that a distinction between Danes and Norwegians became possible. The Swedish Vikings were also both dark and fair.

Oscytel (Askytel, Auscatil, Asaketil) was with the Danish forces at Repton in 875 and is expressly styled a king in the chronicles. In the same year he broke away from Repton with two other kings Guthrum, the son of Frotho king of Denmark, and Anund, king in Sweden, and marched south. They eventually settled at Cambridge and took possession of Wessex. According to Dudo and other Norman chroniclers Rollo took part in the ensuing campaign of these kings against king Alfred. In 876 Guthrum signed a treaty with Alfred which bound him to become a Christian, but Asaketil, Rollo and Anund refused to comply with this condition and sailed for Normandy in Nov. 876.

Oscytel commanded the Danish troops in the Allier district, but his forces were completely routed by the French king Odo in 890. According to Richerus the Danish king was taken prisoner and removed to Limoges. The story of his subsequent murder seems incoherent and generally incredible. We shall return to this question presently.

There is not the slightest doubt that this Oscytel (Asaketil) is the chieftain Richerus called Catillus and marked out as father of Rollo. Who was then Oscytel's father, Rollo's grandfather?

Bjorn Ironside [O. Swed. Biorn Jarnsioa, O. French Bier-Costae-Ferrae, Slavonic Burislaw, Latin Ursival, Irish Awuslir] a lineal descendant of Herioldus Brochus, was the greatest of all Viking kings. We can fathom vaguely the outlines of his empire and we know several of his campaigns from contemporary chronicles.

Annales Bartholiniani call him *Lothbroci Regis filius* owing to a misunderstanding of the name Lothbroci [it would better read Loth Broci Rex]. Robert Wace styles him *fiz du Lothbroc un Danois Roy* [would better read *stirps (or fiz in the sense of descendant) de Brocus un Danois Roy*]. There is no statement in the chronicles to the effect that his father was identical with Ragnall of the Orkneys, but we may draw this conclusion from the following facts:

The Irish Fragments make it clear that Ragnall was chief of the Aunites, and the forces which destroyed York in 869 (apparently in revenge for Ragnall's death) were Aunites i.e. Visigoths; the forces of Bjorn Ironside in France were called Visigoths (Fraga. Mirac. S. Bercharii); contemporary chronicles make Bjorn the commander of the Viking raids in the Mediterranean countries recorded in the Irish Fragments as the deeds of the older sons of Ragnall

Most chronicles concur in making Bjorn Ironside a king in Sweden (presumably as a Danish overlord) and since the only contemporary king in that country, with that name, was Biorn-at-Haga, who received St. Anscharius on his first visit to Birka in 829. Logically therefore one can identify this king with Bjorn, afterwards famous under the cognomen of Ironside.

In the Baltic island of Oland there is a huge open stronghold, Graborg which

according to tradition was held by a king called Bugislev (or Burislaw), the Russian name of Bjorn Ironside. It was probably built by Russian soldiers, in the service of one of his ancestors. There is another fortified place at Ismanstorp on the same island. It is somewhat smaller and was built on the pattern of a Khazak *gorodi*. (I pointed out in the God-Kings of Europe that the Odonic line probably descended from the Kassite dynasty of Mesopotamia called Kassu, Cassi, Khazar and here is another small item to support this proposition). The gigantic Torsburgen near the east coast of Gotland is the biggest of all prehistoric strongholds in Sweden. It has an area of about 264 acres, and in times of war the entire population of eastern Gotland could take refuge within the high walls of this masterpiece of 5th century fortifications built on a calcareous rock.

These three strongholds were apparently the strategic bases of Bjorn Ironside in the Baltic region. From these places he dominated not only the sound of Oland and the great forests of Moere and Blekinge, which furnished the material for his fleets but also the trade lines to Poland, the Baltic States and Russia.

Already during the Bronze Age there was a considerable trade between Scandinavia and the Orient. The sea going traffic was almost completely in the hands of Phoenician and Greek merchants, who had good ocean-going ships in great numbers. The river traffic, on the other hand, was largely controlled by the Scandinavians themselves. The river Vistula was an important thoroughfare leading into central Europe, but it was an undertaking fraught with considerable difficulties to reach the Dnieper and the Euxine from the Vistula by the rivers Prut and Pripet. Moreover, traders would run grave risks of being attacked by warlike tribes all along this route.

As a rule the Sviar used the northern routes, the (Baltic) Dvina, and Berezina and the Dnieper to reach the Euxine, while they used the Neva, Lake Ladoga and the Wolchow to reach the Volga and the Caspian Sea. Svir, the connecting link between the lakes Ladoga and Onega bears their name. The Scandinavian export comprised chiefly furs, leather, wax, honey and slaves, both men and women. The traders were mostly paid in *drachma*, which helped them to finance and to establish their position along the trade routes where they organized trading centres, collecting annual tributes from the people in the surrounding country. Many of these traders were going in for trade rather than robbery and gained considerable influence. On the other hand, there were Vikings who raided the country through which these caravans passed. On the rivers they had both light boats and barges, and if the caravans were attacked, they were always supported by the men on the river. They made deep inroads into the country in pursuit of game and robbery. Their game was not only furred animals but also men and fair damsels. The latter were on the whole treated well and were dressed up in gorgeous costumes in order to fetch top prices in the slave markets of Bulgar and Itil (Astrakan).

Scandinavian colonies were established at Nowgorod, Kieff, Rostov, Smolensk and other places all over central Russia. South Russia was in the ninth century in the hands of the Khazars or Khazirs, a people coming from the same parts of Asia as the Kassi and probably of the same origin. They intermarried with Turks, Armenians and Jews. In the middle of the ninth century the Sviar were sufficiently strong to establish a central government under the supremacy of the Swedish Crown; and Bjorn Ironside, whose Russian name was Burislaw, was their first *druzhina* (Swedish Crown; and Bjorn Ironside, whose Russian name was Burislaw, was their first *druzhina* (Swedish *drott.*). On his death about 862, a Scandinavian prince with the Russian name of Rurik, was elected Grand Duke of Nowgorod.

According to Russian chronicles Rurik was duke in Germany and a vassal of the

Roman Emperor. The only prince who answers to this description is Roric, the son of the Danish king Anulo and a cousin of Bjorn Ironside. As a Count of Rustringen he was a vassal of the Emperor, but he had conquered that country from his future suzerain and was a Christian by name rather than faith. He might have accepted the throne of Nowgorod although it was at that time a heathen country. To judge by his record he was a brave man and a great soldier, and it seems likely that the heirs of Bjorn were no match for him and that he wrested Nowgorod from their hands on the death of their father. Rurik was succeeded by Igor (Ingvor), who is said to be his son but was probably his grandson, as he died 66 years after him. During Igor's minority Oleg was Regent in Nowgorod. He was a kinsman of Rurik. For the reasons given earlier in this appendix it seems reasonable to assume that the Ascold (Asaketil), who became Duke of Kiev, but later on disappeared from the scene, was the son of Bjorn Ironside and identical with Rollo's father Oskytel.

According to the Russian chronicles, Ascold was killed by Oleg because he had become a Christian. This statement recalls the account of his death given by Richerus. In his version, Catillus had been taken prisoner by the French, but King Odo promised to spare his life on condition that he became a Christian. He had refused on other occasions to relinquish the gods of his ancestors. This time he had no other choice and submitted to the condition imposed upon him. The King of France was his sponsor, but after the act Catillus was viciously attacked by a man called Ingo, said to be the standard-bearer of the king, and killed. When the king reproached Ingo for this foul deed he replied that one could not trust a Saracen (which at that time was synonymous with pirate) and that he had killed him for the sake of the country. The allegation of Richerus that this act was munificently rewarded by the king, makes the whole story too fantastic and unbelievable, but part of the storyteller's art at that time was to fuse two traditions. It seems far more probable that Ascold after his defeat had returned to Russia and had begun to propagate his new faith. In this situation it seems natural that Oleg should have killed Ascold at the order of Igor (Ingvor) to serve the double object of preventing the spreading of Christianity and of removing a dangerous rival.

Bjorn must have left Russia several years before his death. In 851 he made his first descent on France. Randulphus de Decito has recorded this event under 843, but since this chronicler belonged to the second half of the 12th century and might have been influenced by an unreliable Icelandic source, we must accept the reports of the earlier chroniclers, including William of Jumieges, who have fixed a later date for the event. Prudentius bishop of Troyes (whose family-name like that of the counts of Aragon was Galindo) wrote the second part of the *Annales Bertin-iani* covering the years 835-861. Thus he was contemporary with Bjorn, but has unfortunately only given the year of his departure – 858

The county of Vermandois in Picardy was first to suffer at Bjorn's hands. He burnt the monastery of Saint-Quentin, devastated the neighbouring districts and perpetrated 'the most cruel outrages against the miserable people'. He then turned south, seized the town of Noyon, and put the bishop and his deacons to the sword. The whole population of the town was massacred, all in honour of the Odin and in order to establish his superiority to the God of the Christians. Fresh bands of Vikings collected under his banners and he soon became the virtual leader of all the devastation. The town of Rouen was occupied and plundered whereupon the wild hordes advanced along the Seine in the direction of Paris. The little river island Oselles (Osytel) was turned into a fortified camp and a base of operations. The exact position of this island, which apparently was given the name of Bjorn's son and Rollo's father, has been the subject of many learned controversies. Some have placed it near Bourg d'Oissel not far from Rouen, while others have suggested the

neighbourhood of Pont-de-l'Arche, near the point where the river Eure flows into the Seine. It seems more probable, however, that Bjorn selected a place of greater strategical importance near the river Oise. This fact is affirmed by Prudentius, who tells us that the fortified camp of the northmen during the winter 856 was situated at Fossa-Givaldi on the left bank of the Seine, below the confluence of the two rivers. Oscelle must have been an adjacent river-island. Latin Fossa-Givaldi is, in French, Gefosse, now Jeufosse.

The position of his camp gave Bjorn a firm hold on two main arteries – one essential for the supply of the capital – the other leading into the wheat producing countryside, which would supply the Vikings with all the food they might require. In this way France would be paralysed and Bjorn would be able to continue his systematic devastation of the country, aiming as he was at the complete extermination of Roman Christianity. Neither churches nor monasteries were spared by these terrifying deputies on earth of Odin. It was only too natural that the French and Norman clergy shuddered at the mere thought of Bjorn Ironside, descendant of Odin and Jesus, being the grandfather of the Norman duke and should have done their utmost to keep it secret.

After long hesitation and much preparation Charles-le-Chauve, who afterwards became Emperor, had raised a large army, with which he intended to defeat the Vikings. The troops embarked on big barges at Soissons on which they were taken down the rivers Aine and Oise to the proximity of the Viking camp. After a long siege and blockade Charles decided to try an assault. The French, however, were beaten off with heavy casualties, and Charles opened negotiations with the enemies in order to persuade them to leave the country. According to Prudentius these negotiations took place in the Royal palace at Vermeia in 858. Bjorn no doubt received substantial 'danegeld' in gold and silver for his promise to leave the country. He also swore fealty to the king, though possibly as representative of the Emperor, which seems to suggest that he received Frisland as a fief under the Imperial crown, because the Emperor was feoffor of that county. The royal army left the barges at the camp and marched back to Soissons. William of Jumieges tells us that Bjorn's fleet met with bad weather in the channel and that many of his ships were sunk. Bjorn got across to Frisland, where he eventually died. This strengthens our assumption that Charles had guaranteed him the possession of this county, which before him had belonged to king Harald of Denmark and his son Godfrid as vassals of the Emperor.

Bjorn left two sons, Helgi king of Denmark, father of Gorm Grandaevus and Asakettil, (Oscetil, Ascold), King of Moere in Sweden, afterwards duke of Kiev, father of Rollo. Therefore Rollo's father was Keitel, grandson of Ragnar.

The following place-names are of interest in this connection, since they recall the names of these princes:

Helgi (Helge) – Helgarum and Helgasjon in Smaland, Helgaro in Sodermanland, not far from Birka. Helgaville and Heuqueville in Normandy. These two domains were the properties of the Sires de Toni, according to Ordericus Vitalis 'de stripe mala Hulci' i.e. descendants of a daughter of Helgi. *Askakettil* – Asa, Aseda, Aasnien in Smaland, Asarum in Blekinge and Asige in Halland. Asnelles and Asnieres in Normandy. *Ossil*, *Oscetil* - Oscelle, river island in the Seine.

Rollo's cousin, the Danish king Guthrum, whose baptismal name was Athelstan, has often been mistaken for King Alfred in the Norman chronicles. Guthrum was king of East Anglia, which he had conquered. The statements in some chronicles that Rollo had made an alliance with King Alfred for united action against the Northmen is certainly not true. On the other hand, we can rest assured that the alliance referred to in the chronicles was a pact with his cousin Guthrum concluded long before his coming into power in Normandy. This is confirmed by William of Jumieges who reports that such a pact existed between Rollo and 'Alstem', the Christian king of England ever since 876. It seems obvious that he should refer to the king of East Anglia. This must have taken place about 877 when the major part of the Viking army had left England and Guthrum with his reduced forces had to hold his own against the revolting Saxons. William of Jumieges is of the opinion that Rollo was actually at the walls of Paris when receiving Guthrum's message, but this statement is certainly wrong and due to a confusion of dates and events.

After this digression Rollo seems to have returned to his bases in the North loaded with silver and gold stolen in France and the valuable gifts he had received from Guthrum in recognition of quick and efficient relief. His appearance as a delegate at Constantinople (879) under the name of Rolf Gudi seems to suggest that he had paid a visit to Igor och Oleg in Novgorod and to his father Ascold in Kiev. He had no doubt brought them some of his gifts and impressed them favourably before he was entrusted with this highly important mission.

Rollo and his father eventually returned to France and joined their compatriots who at that time laid siege to Paris under the command of Sigfrid. The newcomers, however, seem to have operated on their own. They seized the town of Meux on the Marne some forty miles N.E. of Paris, afterwards plundering and devastating the rich country of Neustrie between the rivers Seine and Loire. Also on this occasion Oscetil chose the isle of Oscelle as base for his operations.

In 888 Eudes (Odo), the son of Robert-le-Fort, had been proclaimed King of France after the deposing of Charles-le-Gros. He defeated the main body of the Vikings at Montfaucon on the Meuse, but they escaped complete disaster and soon afterwards renewed their campaign of devastation. Eudes, however, succeeded in his efforts to crush the forces of Oscetil then operating in the Auvergne. Richerus gives a long and almost too detailed account of the ensuing battle of Montpensier and ends up with the following *crescendo*.

"The enemies are losing strength and are thrown back. The Royal army collects itself to a renewed attack, attacks and shatters them. A third blow utterly destroys them. As, towards the end of the tumult, a thick cloud of dust covered the battlefield Catillus managed to escape and to hide with some of his men in a thicket. But his hiding place was discovered by the victorious soldiers who seized him and let his men be put to the sword. Deprived of his clothes he was handed over to the king".

Here follows the combined baptismal and murder scene described above. Trithemius who like Ekehard had access to Richerus' manuscript has given a slightly different relation of this event. As we have pointed out already there is something unreal about this scene, and there is every reason to believe that the murder did not take place on that occasion. I must add another argument for this opinion: Gerlo, Count of Blois, the son of Ingo who was supposed to have committed the crime, was one of Rollo's most intimate friends. It seems highly improbable that the Duke of the Normans would have formed a friendship with his father's murderer.

The explanation seems to be either that Oscetil escaped and joined the other Viking forces or that he was allowed to leave the country on condition that he returned to Russia, where he was afterwards murdered. Richerus might in that case

have transferred the murder scene from Russia and coupled it with the victory of Montpensier. It is interesting to note that Richerus calls Oscetil a 'tyrant', (in its old fashion meaning of ruler) which is quite in keeping with his position as Duke of Kiev and with the designation 'potentate' with which Dudo describes Rollo's father.

After Oscetil's disappearance Rollo opened a new campaign, this time in the coastal district of Neustrie. (Dudo has given a detailed description of this campaign). There are a few words uttered by Rollo at the subsequent peace conference 911, quoted by Saint-Martins de Tours, which call for special attention. When the Norman chieftain, in accordance with the court-ceremonial, was invited to kiss the foot of the king he flatly refused, saying: "*ne se bi Goth'. These words are neither Danish, Swedish nor English but Anglian* and mean word for word -'" *not so, by the gods*". Goth is the plural form, the singular is Gota. This statement is important from two points of view. It shows that Rollo still clung to his old gods in the very moment when, at his christening, he was compelled to renounce them. It is also a sign that his mother tongue, the language he spoke when agitated, was Anglian as spoken by the Hunedanes in the Orkneys.

Many people today, we should say the majority of all those who read about Rollo, labour under the misconception that the whole of Normandy fell to his lot at Saint-Clair-sur-Epte. As a matter of fact the country ceded to him as a county (Count of Rouen) under the suzerainty of the king of France was only a minor portion of what afterwards became an independent duchy. The original county was situated north of the Seine, bounded on the south by this river, on the east and north-east by the rivers Epte and Bresle, on the north and north-west by the Channel.

From the start of his reign Rollo was severely handicapped by the circumstance that the whole southern part of Normandy was in the hands of other Danes, centred on the town of Bayeaux. Since they held the coastal district of Calvados which was particularly well adapted to landing operations with the light craft used by the Danes from England or the mother country it was well-nigh impossible for Rollo to establish law and order in those parts and to repulse invading forces according to the treaty. Equally serious were the obstacles raised by the heathen neighbours, in the path of Christianity.

Hard pressed by Robert duke of France, Hugh his son, Raoul duke of Burgundy, Robert's son-in-law, and Herbert count of Vermandois (who demanded his abdication) Charles-le-Simple appealed to his Norman vassal for support. Rollo promised to bring reinforcements but on condition that the southern part of Normandy should be added to his fief. The king accepted this condition. Rollo, however, was slow in his preparations and the decisive battle between the King and the Duke was fought near Soissons in 923, before Rollo's army had crossed the frontier. The king lost the day and was imprisoned in the castle of Peronne. Robert, Duke of France, was killed in the battle. Hugh was offered the crown but declined whereupon Raoul was hailed as king.

At this moment Rollo deemed it expedient to set his troops on the march breaking into Beauvaisis and Amienois, plundering and devastating, as was his wont. The town of Beauvais was sacked and Amiens was burned. It was not until he reached Noyon, which was strongly fortified and well defended, that his march was brought to a standstill. Informed by messengers that the Normans had invaded his County he returned home by forced marches, and a strong garrison was put into the fortress of Eu (Lat. *Augae*) on his northern frontier.

He was pursued by the allied army, which however, was not strong enough to venture on a battle, since Raoul had returned with his forces to Burgundy. Its leaders, including the bishop of Rheims, preferred to enter into negotiations.

Apparently Rollo placed his case before them so skilfully that they agreed to his demands for extension of his territory. For various reasons they were not willing to include the Maine, although he insisted very strongly on this point. In 925 he opened hostilities to enforce his claim, but on this occasion he was defeated by the allied Franco-Burgundian forces, who opened the campaign by a siege of Eu. King Raoul who was seriously ill had left the army. Richerus gives the following account of the events, which now ensued.

“After the fortress had been encircled the outworks were carried by assault. Thereupon the young soldiers escalated the big wall round the town and threw themselves at the enemy. Having occupied the town the soldiers massacred the men, where as the women were saved and protected. The keep was pulled down and burnt. As the fires thickened and darkened the atmosphere many enemies managed to escape and to find their way to an adjacent island. The besiegers attacked and exterminated them in a naval contest. Those pirates who had lost every hope of rescue threw themselves into the water. Some were drowned while others, who tried to swim ashore were massacred by sentries. Even others who had been seized by a dreadful terror tried to take their own lives by their arms”.

In the original text Richerus writes that Rollo had been seized, his eyes had been put out, and he had been killed, however since the learned monk was rather better informed this passage was expunged. Strangely enough the heading of the chapter still contains the assertion that Rollo had been killed, but this apparently is due to negligence.

One might have expected that the Normans would be in a difficult position after this disaster, but Rollo was a shrewd diplomat and he soon got his enemies round a conference table. A peace was signed; but the terms are not known. In all probability Rollo waived his claim to the Maine, which remained under the suzerainty of the Crown.

During his last years the dynastic quarrels in France continued and Rollo was frequently drawn into them. In 927 we find that William Longsword took the place of his old father at a conference with Charles-le-Simple, who had temporarily been released from the prison of Peronne. The Normans suffered another heavy defeat in a pitched battle at Fauquemburgue (Falkenberg), not far from Boulogne and St. Omer. King Raoul commanded the French. The exact date of this battle is not known; and it seems doubtful whether Rollo was in command on that occasion. Possibly the report of this last blow ended the life of the great chieftain. Strangely enough neither Dudo nor Richerus gives the date of his death, which must have taken place between 928 and 930. Since it is generally held that at his death Rollo was eighty years old he must have been born about 850.

According to Adhemar de Chabannes (written about 150 years after the death of Rollo), he lost the battle of Limoges to Raoul in 930 and died soon afterwards abjuring his Christian faith and returning to the cult of Woden or Odin, in proof whereof he sacrificed 100 prisoners of war to these gods while leaving 100 pounds of gold to the God of the Christians. Notwithstanding this, Rollo was buried in the cathedral of Rouen. The Church after all needed to, at the very least, pretend he was a true Christian.

From this investigation into Rollo's family, his names, origin and background there appears what may be regarded as the following historically established facts:

Dudo designates Rollo as *Moericus* i.e. from Moere. There is no proof, and it seems hardly probably that Dudo knew any other Moere than the Swedish country recorded in Wulfstan's account of his travels presented to king Alfred at the end of the ninth century. Thus Rollo was born in that hundred. We can make the

assumption that several hundreds were perhaps united into a petty kingdom where Rollo's father was the ruling prince.

Dudo makes it clear that Rollo's father was an eastern potentate, a position that he must have held later in life.

Richerus has given his name in Latin – Catillus, in other chronicles called Oscetil.

The Celtic Os stands for Asa, and his name in Swedish would have been Asakettil, in Russian Ascold. The Russian prince with that name was a Northman and fits in chronologically as Rollo's father. He was Duke of Kiev and as such would be described as an *eastern potentate*.

Several ancient chronicles and one manuscript copied from a contemporary Latin document state definitely that Rollo was descended from Bjorn Ironside (Biercostae-ferreae).

Asakettil was the son of Bjorn, which agrees with the fact that he was styled 'King' in the Saxon chronicles. Therefore Bjorn was Rollo's grandfather, and Asakettil his father.

Helgi king of Denmark was elder brother of Asakettil and father of Gorm Grandaevus, Rollo's first cousin.

Before he settled in Normandy in 911 Rollo lived the life of a Viking chief moving from one place to another in the great Empire of the Lodebroci; raiding on his own or taking part in their expeditions, gaining experience and growing in wisdom; qualities which stood him in good stead in protecting his own newly acquired territories.

To the uninitiated observer the Icelandic stories, which are full of entertaining details and of definite statements, have the appearance of reality; but as we have seen the Landnamabok and the Sagas of Snorre must be treated with scepticism. They may possess a certain literary value of the heroic mode, but they are largely the products of vivid imagination, misinterpretation and in some cases falsification of documents. Snorre's stories about the Norwegian Kings are marked by his ill feelings towards Norway. His attacks on these Kings are insidious and unreasonable. As a consequence the history and pedigrees produced in Iceland should, in my opinion, not be cited as evidence in any serious historical thesis.

The French, Norman, Saxon and Irish chronicles must be judged each on their own merits but by and large support each other. Some of their authors have been accurate and careful; others have given imagination too much freedom. Those who have worked under economic and political pressure represent a special category. The truth of their statements should sometimes be read between the lines. The chronicles of Richerus, Dudo de Saint-Quentin, and William of Jumieges, founded on contemporary evidence, local tradition and information obtained in court circles in Normandy, France and England must be treated with great reverence. Only if firm evidence to the contrary can be found should a particular event be discounted.

Genealogy VI – Montgomery

There is a difference between what I wrote in 'The Montgomery Millennium' and this genealogy as follows:

In Montgomery Millenium I called Ragnor Gormsson – Roger de Montgomery. This was technically incorrect. The Latin chronicles of the Edict de Pitre call him

Rogierius Gormerici or Gomerici or Rogerius Comes Exmesis. B. G. Montgomery has called him Gomeri, but he would have thought of himself as Ragnor Gormsson.

I have added a Roger in between William and Hugh. William died circa 985 and Hugh died in 1050. I think it unlikely that a son would have died 65 years after his father during those times. A Roger de Montgomery is known to have died in France somewhere between 1020-40. I have made a presumption that he was Hugh's father. Lastly I have come to the conclusion that Hugh was the father of Roger (d. 1095) and not Roger as B. G. Montgomery as other historians have claimed. My reasoning is as follows:

1. William of Jumieges (Vol.VIII, ch. 35) says 'Rogerius Comes, filius Hugonis de Monte Gomerici. . . .natus est ex quadam neptium Gunnoris comitissae, scilicet ex Jocelina filia Weviae'. Robert of Caen gives the same pedigree.
2. Ives, Bishop of Chartres in a letter to Henry I says 'Gonnora et Senfria sorores fuerent. . . ex Senfria excivit Joscelina, ex Joscelina, Rogerius de Monte Gummeri, ex Rogerio, Mabilia soror Roberti Bellimensis' (Migne, Patrologia latina, CLXII, 261). The great Bishops of the time had an obligation to record the pedigrees of noble families, because of the Church's rules on consanguinity. We can be fairly certain therefore that both the number of generations and pedigree are correct.
3. There may be some argument as to which sister married Turolf, but none as to who married Hugh – namely Jo(s)celina.
4. The problem has been that in the 3rd. Charter of Troarn Roger, Earl of Shrewsbury says 'Ego Rogerius, ex Norman nis Normannus, magni autem Rogerii filius' (Cart. de Troarn, fol. I). All historians and B. G. Montgomery have taken this to mean that Roger's father was also called Roger.
5. Why would he put a 'Norman of Normans'? I suggest that this might be read as – I Roger a Norman of Viking descent (*In Latin generally they were referred to as Northmen*). I would like to suggest further that *magni* is the adjective attached to *Rogerii* therefore in translation it would read: 'I Roger a Norman of Viking descent and furthermore a son of Roger the Great'. Now Roger the Great or Roger Magnus is a well-established historical figure and was the first to call himself Roger de Montgomery and therefore *filius* here, as in several other documents mentioned before, must be taken to mean descendant.

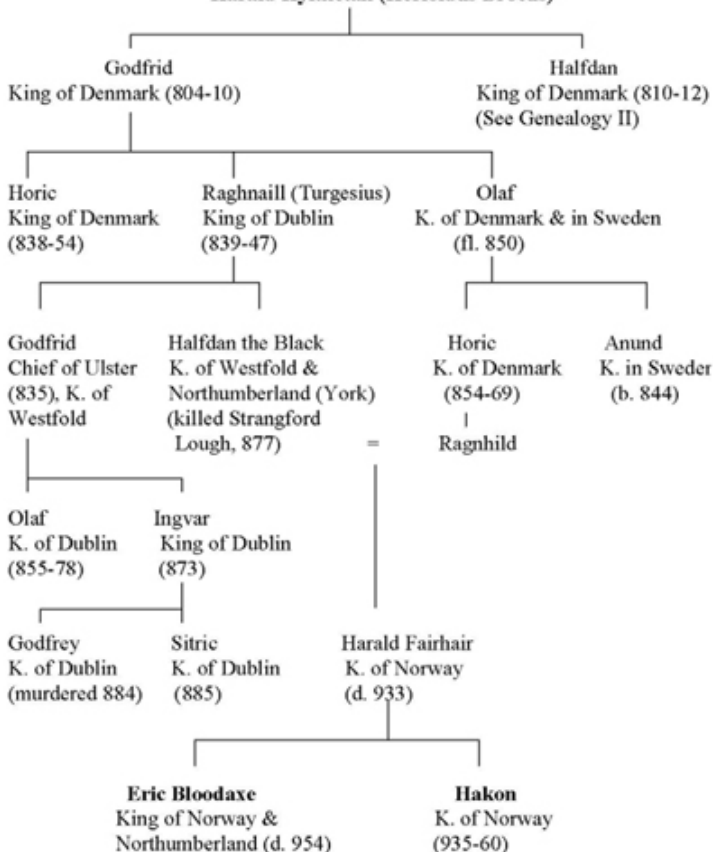
Descent from Mauger – Genealogy V

I am grateful to Major Niven Sinclair, Toiseach of Clan Sinclair, for access to his records.

Appendix III

Genealogy I
Dynasty of Ulvungar
House of Lothbrook (Or Brocus)

Harald Hylthetan (Herioldus Brocus)

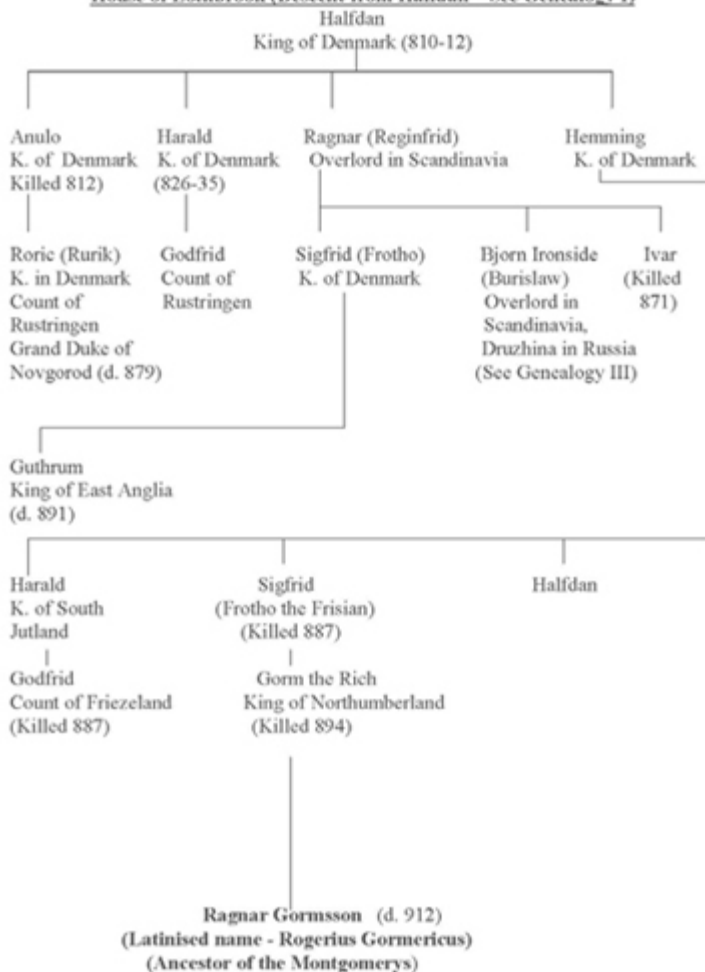


Appendix IV

Genealogy II

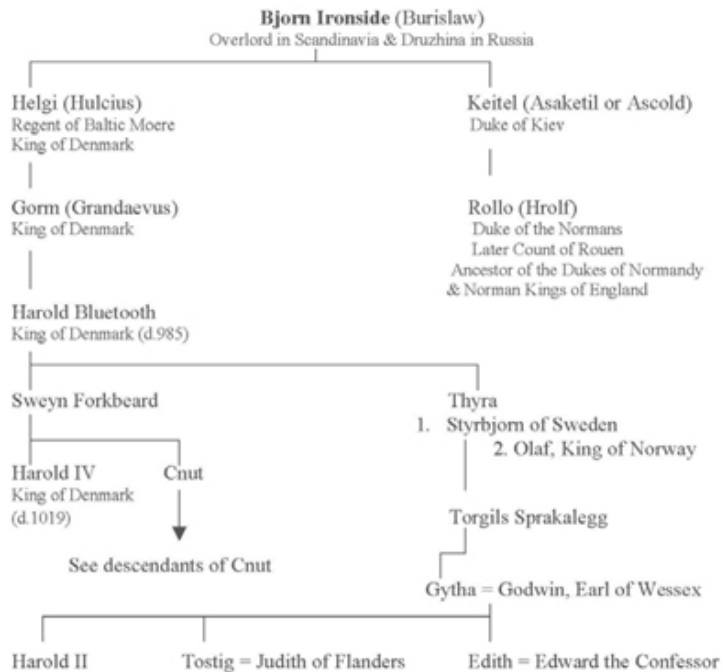
Dynasty of Ulvungar

House of Lothbrok (Descent from Halfdan – See Genealogy I)



Appendix V

Genealogy III

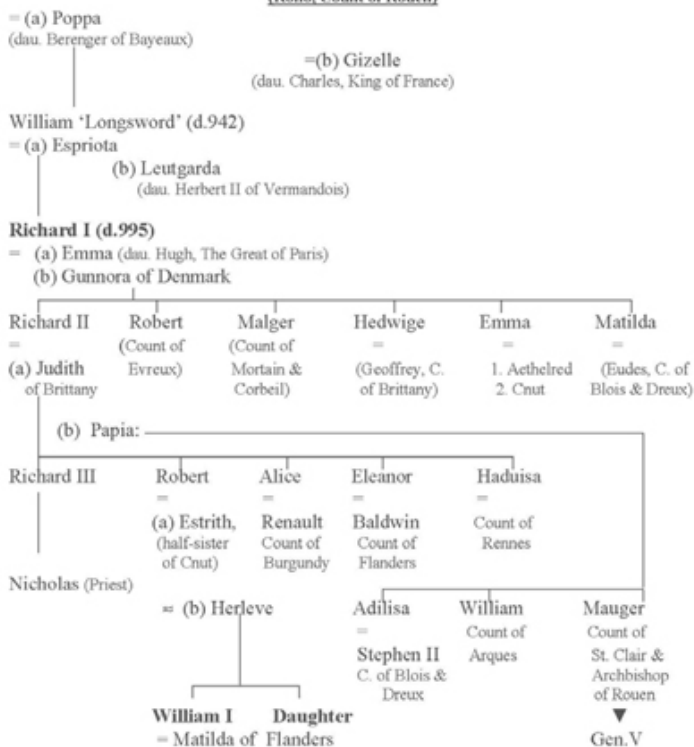


This makes Rollo the third cousin once removed and slightly older of Ragnar Gormsson - See Genealogy II. It also shows that Harold was via his mother a member of the Ulvungar dynasty.

Appendix VI

Genealogy IV
Ulvungar Dynasty
House of Normandy
 (From Genealogy III)

Hrolf the Ganger (d/c.928)
(Rollo, Count of Rouen)



Appendix VII

Genealogy V Ulvungar Dynasty

Mauger, Count of St. Clair
(Called **Le-Jeune**)
Archbishop of Rouen
= (Daughter of Creve Coeur-en-Auge)

Hamon (Aux Dents)

(Seigneur de Thoringy & C. of Corbeil. Killed at Val-es-Dunes in 1047 fighting against their cousin, William. The sons were reconciled with William)
= ?

Robert FitzHamon
(Earl of Gloucester
Sgr. de Corbeil)
= Sybil de
Montgomery

Walderne

(Also killed at
Val-es-Dunes)
= ?

(Sons reconciled
with William)

Richard
(Ancestor
St. Clairs of
Kent &
Norfolk)

William
(To Scotland -
Baron of
Rosslyn)

Hubert, Lord of Rye

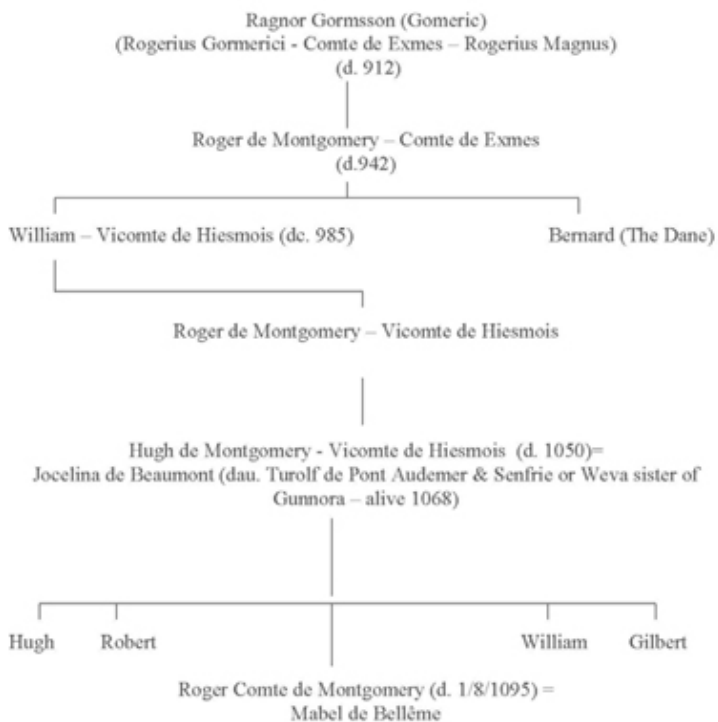
(One of Edward the Confessors
Norman Barons. He & his sons
later helped William, their
cousin, and were rewarded
with estates in England)

Britel
(Ancestor of
St. Clairs of
Devon &
Cornwall)

Agnes
= Phillipe
(Grandson
Sgr. de
Bruis in
Normandy)

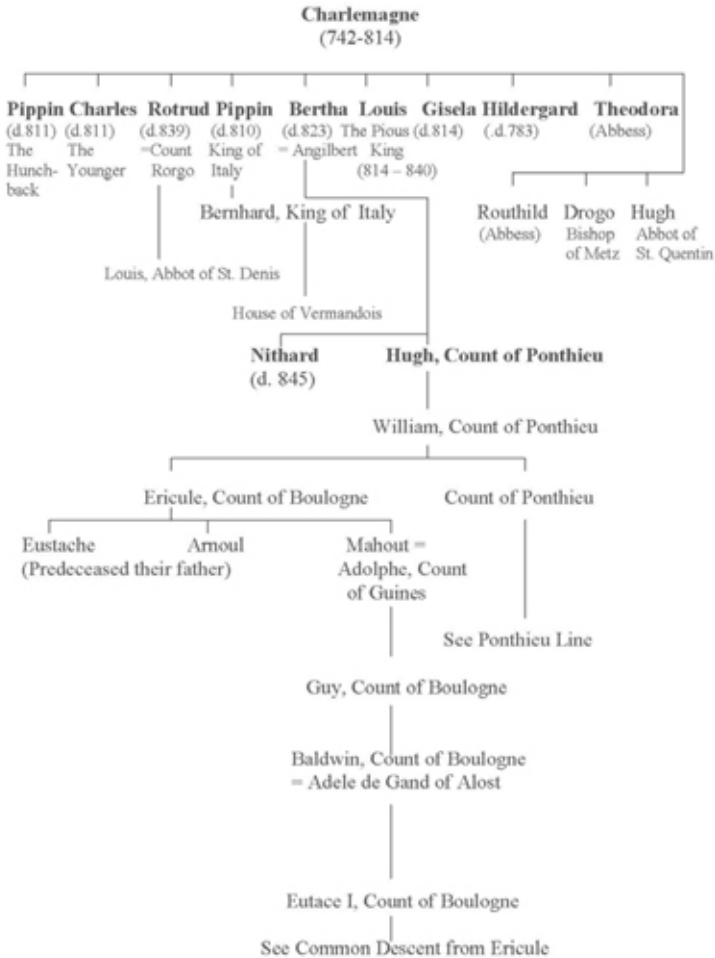
Appendix VIII

Genealogy VI Dynasty of Ulvunger Montgomery



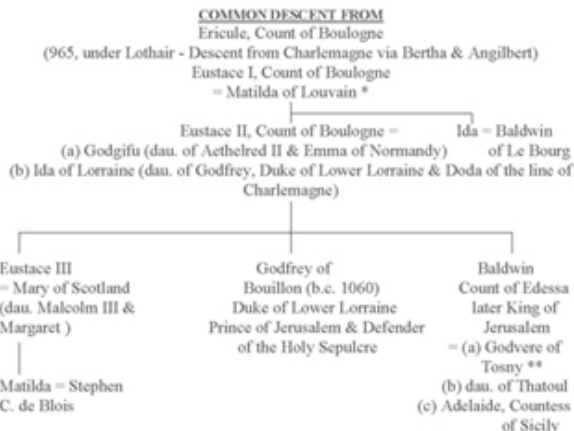
Appendix IX

DESCENT FROM CHARLEMAGNE



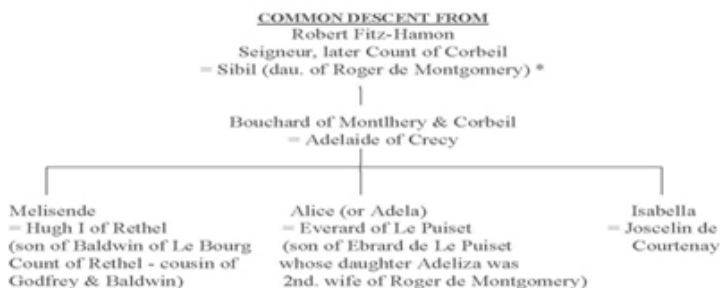
Ref: Platts, B. op. cit. Vol. I, p. 38; Also Montgomery, H. op. cit. pp.2 & 3; Also Karl der Grosse; Also Mckitterick, R. (1983) – *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians 781 – 987*, pp. 349 – 367, Longman Group, Essex, UK

Appendix X



* Adela of Louvain was the 1st. wife of Henry I of England. His 2nd. wife was Matilda sister of Mary of Scotland.

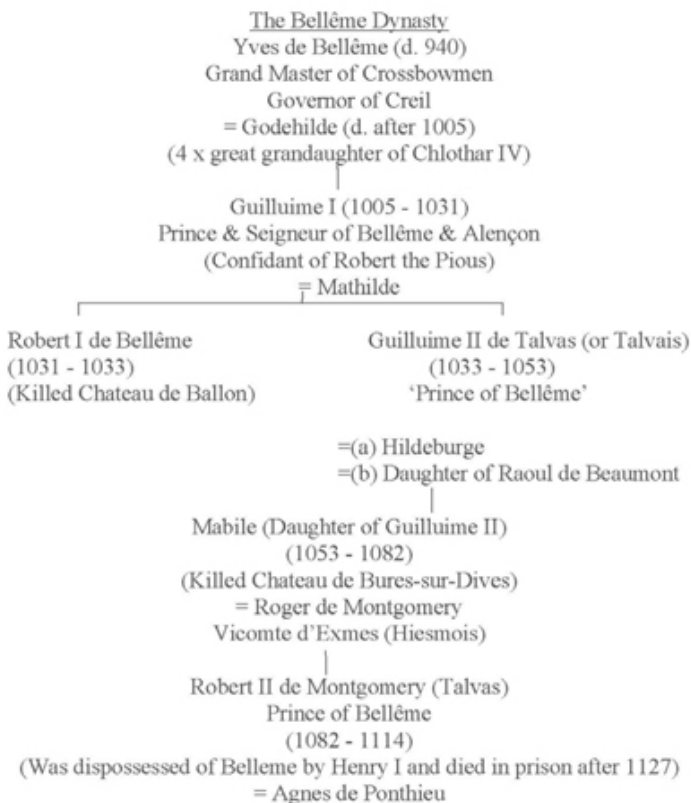
**William FitzOsborn, cousin of William the Conqueror, had married Aeliz de Tosny (her Aunt ?).



Notes on Descent from Ericule:

Ericule had two sons, Arnoul and Eustache and a daughter Mahaut. His two sons predeceased him and his daughter's husband Adolphe, Count of Guines succeeded in his wife's name. Their son Guy then became Count of Boulogne, to be succeeded by his son Baldwin, who married Adele de Gand, sister of the Lord of Alost. Baldwin's son was Eustace I. (See Platts, B. (1985) – *Scottish Hazard* Vol. I p. 26, Procter Press, London). * See Ponthieu line from Charlemagne

Appendix XI



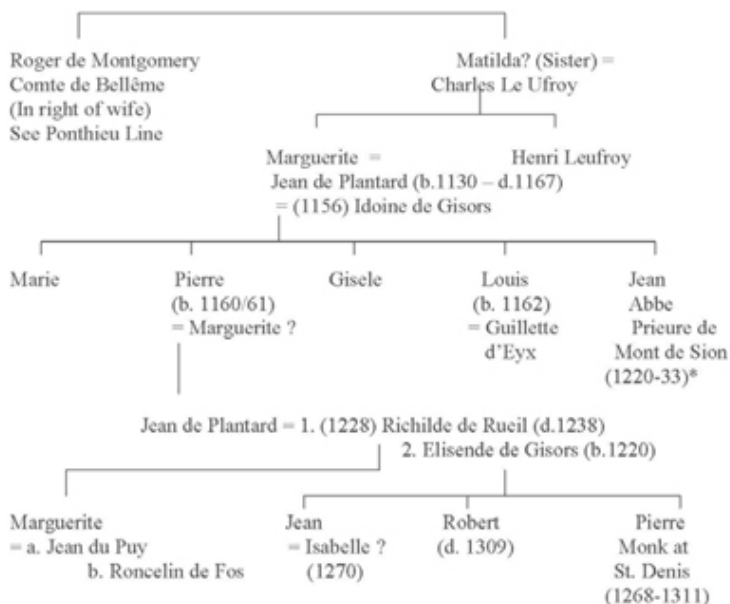
(Ref: The above information comes from Chahiers Percherons, Triem.

No: 51, 3rd. Trimestre 1976 – Published by the Assoc. de Amis du Perche and found by me in the Library in the Marie de Belleme)

There are some differences in dates regarding the death of Robert II de Belleme.

The dates in brackets are the dates of titular possession.

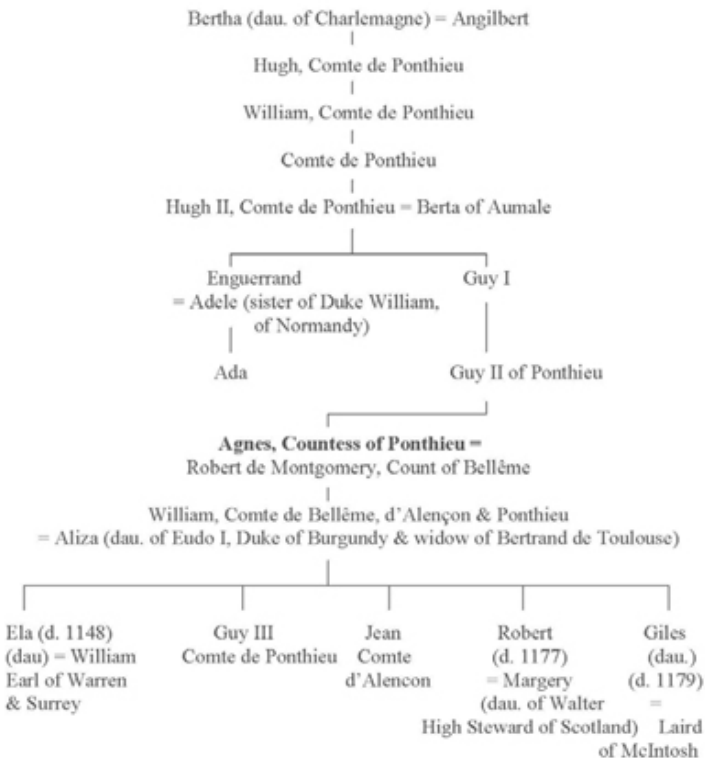
MONTGOMERY, COUNTS OF BELLÈME & THE LEUFROYS



Notes: *His name figures on Charters of the Priory of Mont-Sion. Ref: Vicomte du Motey (1923) – *Robert II de Bellesme et son temps*, Paris

Appendix XIII

PONTHIEU LINE FROM CHARLEMAGNE



* The above is shown by a letter from the Bishop of Sees when Corbeil married Sybil Montgomery because they had to obtain papal dispensation as they were near cousins.

(Copy courtesy of Maj. Niven Sinclair from the Sinclair Charter Chest, original now in the Bodleian, Oxford)

Appendix XIV

Simplified Tree of the Merovingians (447 – 737 AD)

MEROVEE THE ELDER Known as Merovech

(447-487)

(Helped Roman General Aetius to defeat Attila the Hun
at Battle of Catalaunian Plains 451 AD)

Childeric I

(b.436)

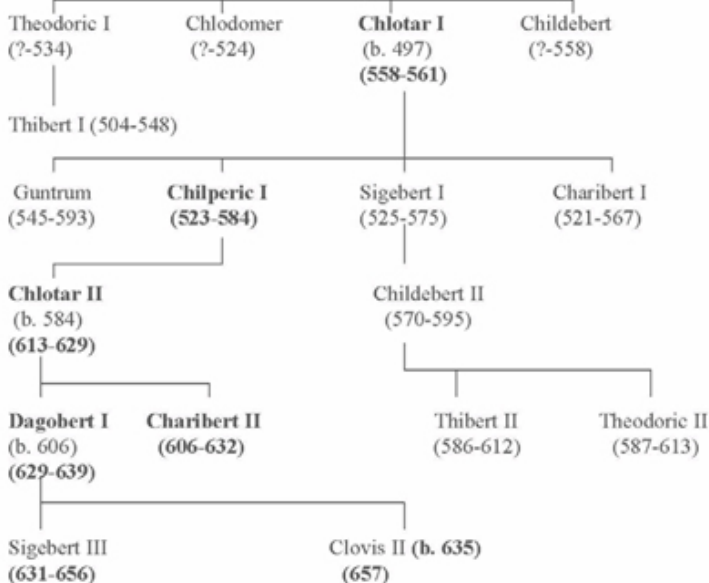
King of Tournai

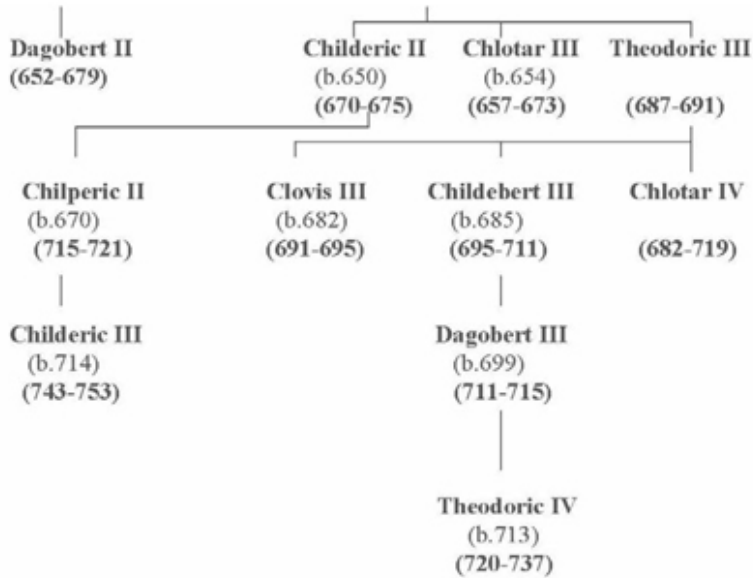
(481-511)

Clovis I

= Clotilda of Burgundy

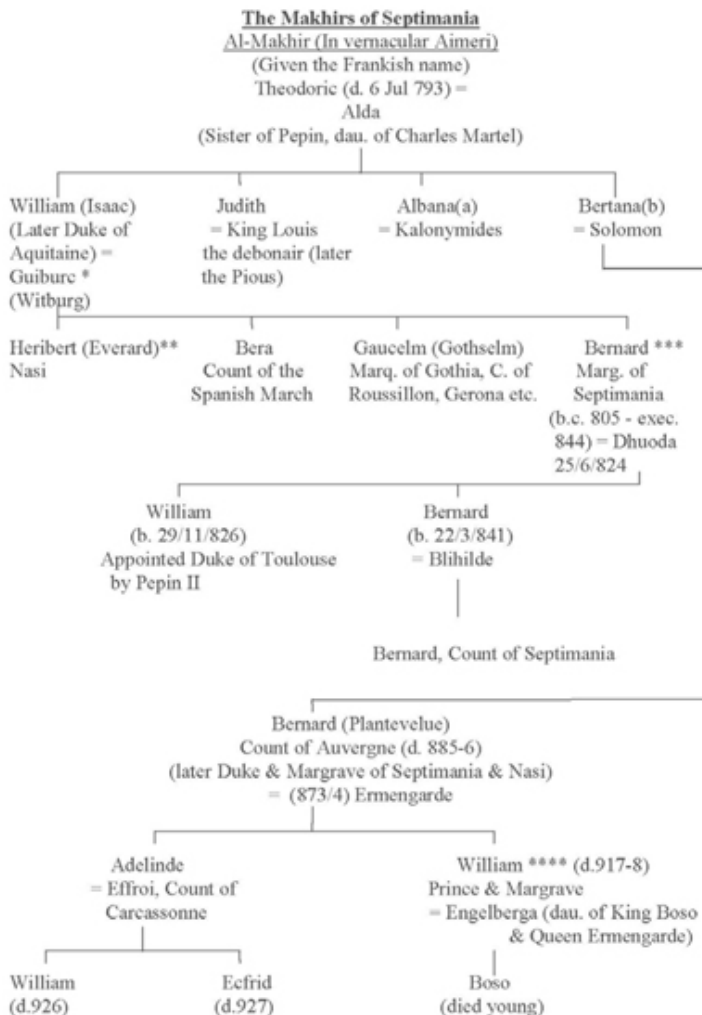
(Clovis is thought to have become a Christian together with 3000 soldiers
at Rheims in 496 AD)





Clovis I died in 511 and his Kingdom was divided by his sons who annexed Burgundy in 534 AD and Provence in 537 AD. After the deaths of his brothers Chlotar I became King of Regnum Francorum in 558, but on his death his Kingdom was once again divided. Charibert I became King of Paris, Guntram became King of Burgundy, Sigebert of Austrasia and Chilperic I of Soissons. Dagobert I re-established most of the kingdom but once again his sons' divisions caused problems. Sigebert II was King of Austrasia and Clovis II King of Burgundy & Neustria. The last Merovingian monarch Childeric II was confined to a monastery by Pepin the Short, who with the connivance of Pope Zacharias, then seized the throne.

Appendix XV



Appendix XV

Notes:

The above genealogical tree has been produced by me from the information in Professor Arthur Zuckerman's book – *A Jewish Principedom in Feudal France 768-900*, published by Columbia University Press, New York & London.

(a) & (b) It is not clear from the literature as to whether Bertrana married Solomon & Albana married the Kalomides or vice versa. It simply says daughter of without indicating her name.

* A non-Christian from beyond the sea

** Opposed Agobard and was blinded by Lothar

*** Count of Barcelona, later Camerarius (Chamberlain) to Louis and protector of infant Charles. Nasi after the blinding of Heribert. Most important person after the Emperor. Septimania called a 'Kingdom' at this time. Cousin of Eudo of Orleans.

**** William founded an institution of Jewish learning in what became the Abbey of Cluny. After his death he was Christianised by the Church and became known as William the Pious.

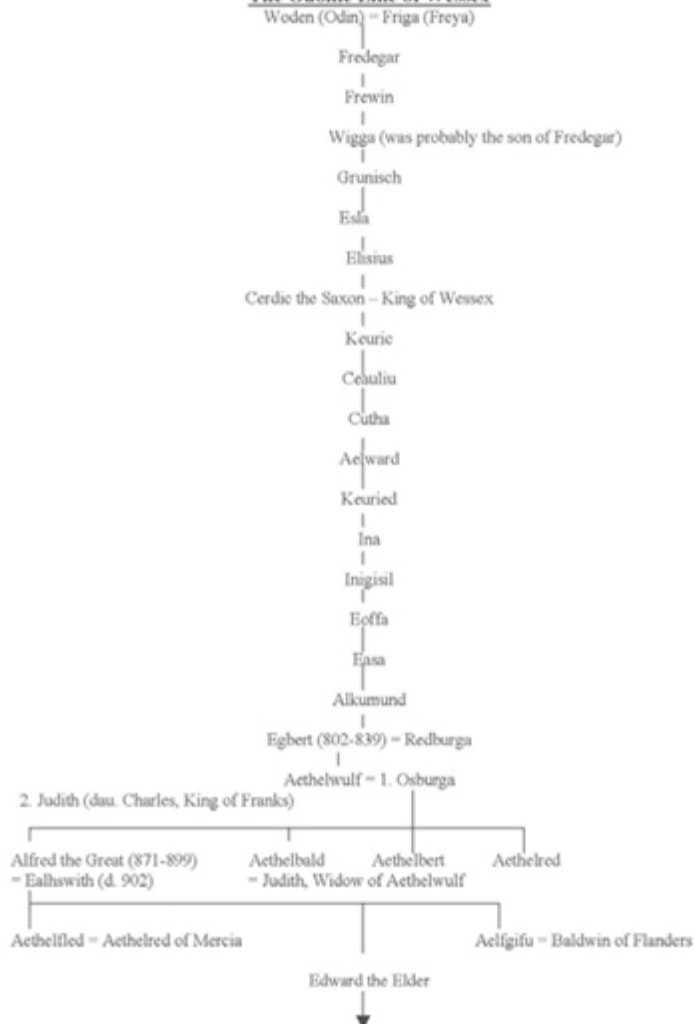
Bernard Plantevelue was known as "Hairy Foot".

With the end of the line of the original Makhirs the collateral branch of the Kalonymides of Lucca were asked in 917 by King Charles (893-923) to come to the Narbonne as Nasis. The first of this line was known in Hebrew as Rabbi Moses the Elder, his son's cognomen was 'En-Kalonymos'. This line continued at least until the 14th. Century. In 1246 we find a Charter signed in Hebrew (Moumet Judeu d'Nerpo) and sealed with the Seal of the Lion Rampant of the House of Judah and a six-pointed star and in 1307-8 we find references to 'Momet Tauros – King of the Jews'.

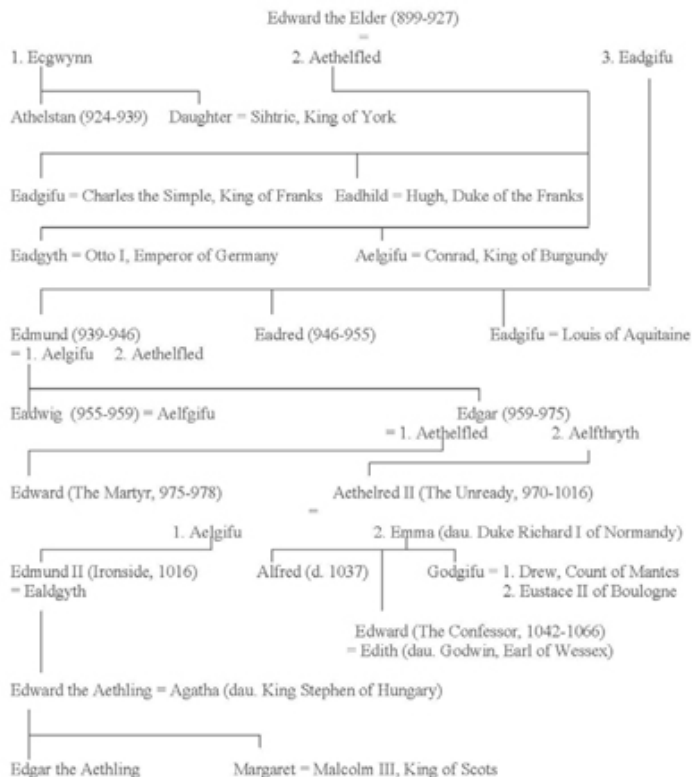
The name 'Makhir' or its Frankish form 'Aimeri' is not really a proper name but more of a title, indicating someone who is the Spiritual as well as civil and often military head of the Jewish people in that area, particularly in the Aquitaine region where many members of the nobility married into this family or gave their daughters in marriage to the Makhirs. It is very likely also that several noble families converted to Judaism or at the very least accepted it. For example in the Diet of Pitres in 864 Pippin II of Aquitaine was accused of apostasy to paganism (of the Norsemen?). It seems to me more likely that he became a Jew. Thus Theodoric was Al-Makhir as was William (Isaac Al-Makhir) and Heribert would have Al-Makhir before being blinded, at which point his brother Bernard became Al-Makhir. Equally when Bernard (Plantevelue) became the Nasi he would have become Al-Makhir or Aimeri as would his son Bernard and when Rabbi Moses the Elder was asked to become Nasi by Charles he would have been known as 'Aimeri' in the vernacular. We can say therefore with a fair degree of certainty that Aimeri de Thouars was clearly a descendent of the Makhirs and leader of his people in that area of Aquitaine. (See Zuckerman, A. *op.cit.* p. 367).

Appendix XVI

The Odonic Line of Wessex



Appendix XVI



The above was compiled by me from the Wessex King Lists in the Royal Collection and the Oxford History of the British Monarchy. Some versions of the King Lists include Baeldaeg and Brond between Woden and Fredegar.

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Chapter 1.

1. Brown, D. (2000) – *Ring gives clue to last Romans*, British Archaeology Journal, Journal of Council of British Archaeology, quoted in Daily Telegraph 25/4/00.
2. Dennys, R. CVO; OBE; FSA; Arundel Herald of Arms, (1987) – *Aethelstan* in Our Royal Sovereigns, Danbury, Surrey, UK. See also James, Edward (1988) – *The Northern World in the Dark Ages 400-900*, in The Oxford Illustrated History of Medieval Europe, Holmes, G. (ed.), Oxford, UK
3. Dennys, R. op. cit. – *Aethelred II*
4. Dennys, R. op.cit. – *Swegn*. See also The New Encyclopaedia Britannica (1998), 15th Edition
5. Bradbury, J. (1998) – *The Battle of Hastings*, p. 115, Sutton Publishing Ltd., Gloucestershire, UK.
6. *Den Store Danske Encyklopædi* (1998) – See also Royal Danish Archives, Documents Nos: 465-500 inclusive and documents for the years 1040-1073 AD inclusive.
7. McLynn, F. (1998) – *1066 The Year of the three battles*, p. 108, Jonathon Cape, London, UK.
8. McLynn, F. op.cit. p.15.
9. Oleson, T.J. (1955) – *The Witanagemot in the reign of Edward the Confessor*, English Historical Review (EHR), London, UK. Also Bradbury, J. op.cit. p.9, Also McLynn, F. op.cit. p.79
10. Gillingham, J. (1998) – *The Normans in The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England*, Fraser, A. (ed.), Weidenfeld & Nicholson Ltd., London, UK.
11. Bradbury, J. op.cit. p.37; also McLynn op. cit. p. 157; also Olsen, T.J. (1953) – *Edward the Confessors promise of the throne to Duke William of Normandy*, EHR, 68, pp. 526-545; See also *The Bayeux Tapestry*.
12. Bradbury, J. op.cit. pp. 69-71; also *The Bayeux Tapestry* for Bayeaux; William of Poitiers in his *Gesta Guillelmi Ducis Normannorum et Regis Anglorum* (1074-1077) says the oath took place at Bonneville-sur-Touques.
13. Bradbury, J. op. cit. p.24; see also fig. 1
14. William of Jumieges (c. 1130) – *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*.
15. McLynn, F. op. cit. p. 15; see also Saxo Grammaticus (1980) edition Christiansen p. 210.
16. Swanton, M. (2000) – *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, New Edition p. 172, Phoenix Press, London, UK; also McLynn, F. op.cit. p. 68
17. Research by Budapest Campus of the University of Applied Sciences, Belgrade, Yugoslavia (2000) at the request of the author.

Chapter 2.

1. McLynn, F. op. cit. p.21, but Maurice Ashley says 1028, see Ashley, M. (1973) – *The Life and Times of William I*, p. 52, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London, UK
2. See also McLynn, F. op. cit. p. 23.
3. Ashley, M. op.cit. p. 52
4. Cannon, J & Griffiths, R. (1988) – *The Oxford Illustrated History of the British Monarchy*, p. 'Genealogies', Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.
5. Castleden, R. (1994), *World History*, A chronological Dictionary of dates, Parragon, London, UK.
6. In 850, Rurik (a norseman) takes over from Keitel (Ascold) as ruler of Kiev and later founds the city of Novgorod in 862 becoming 'Grand Prince' and starting what is to become the Russian Royal Family. See also Castleden, R. op. cit.
7. Montgomery, H. (2002) – *The Montgomery Millennium*, p.v, Megatrend, Bel grade & London.
8. Allen Brown, R. (1984) – *The Normans*, p. 17, Boydell Press, Suffolk, UK; see also Le Patourel, J. (1983) – *Norman Empire*, Chapter 1.
9. Montgomery, H. op. cit. p. 1. See also Records at College of Arms, London. Also see notes on Genealogy.
10. 9.a New research which will come out in my future book which, suggests that there may have been other reasons for the Archbishop's decision.
11. McLynn, F. op. cit. p. 27; also McKitterick, R. (1983) – *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians 751 – 987*, Longman Group UK Ltd., Essex, UK; also Loud, G.A. (1981) – *Gens Normannorum*, Anglo-Saxon Studies 4, pp. 104 – 116.
12. Duane, O.B. (1997) – *Chivalry* p. 45, Brockhampton Press, London, UK.
13. McLynn, F. op. cit. p. 30
14. William of Poitiers, op. cit. pp. 73 – 75.
15. Montgomery, H. op. cit. p. 3; Agnes was the sole heir of Guy and as Wil liam's vassal, her marriage was in William's grant. Her marriage to the eldest son of one of his main supporters cemented his grip on Ponthieu. The son of Agnes and Robert, called William of course, married the daughter of Eudo I, Duke of Burgundy.
16. *Chahiers Percherons* (1976) – Triem. No. 51, 3eme. Trimestre, 1976, Assoc. de Amis du Perche. Library of the Marie de Belleme.
17. Stoyanov, Y. (1994) – *The Hidden Tradition in Europe*, pp. 87-88, Penguin, London, UK.
18. Platts, B. (1985) – *Scottish Hazard*, Vol. 1, pp. 38, Procter Press, London, UK.
19. Platts, B. ibid. Chap. 3. See also Ashley, M. (1972) – *The Life and Times of William I*, p. 92, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London, UK.

Chapter 3.

1. McLynn, F. op. cit. Chapter 8, 'Tostig'.
2. According to Ebrard de Montgomery or at least sources attributed to him, his father, Roger de Montgomery commanded some 3,000 men on the right flank at Hastings, of which about 1,000 were mounted and about 300 were crossbowmen from the famous Belleme contingent. I have therefore extrapolated figures from these, but they agree with most modern theories I believe. See also Oman, C. Sir (1991 ed.) – *The History of*

- the Art of War*, Vol. 1 p. 159, Greenhill Books, London, UK.
3. McLynn, F. *op. cit.* p. 193
 4. The Gokstad ship excavated in Norway is 76.5 feet long and had a crew of 70. She is not particularly large but provides an average.
 5. McLynn, F. *op. cit.* p. 184
 6. Zukerman, A.J. (1972) – *A Jewish Princedom in Feudal France, 768 – 900*, p. 121 – 122, Columbia University Press, New York & London. See Genealogical Tree in Appendix. See also *The God Kings of Europe*.
 7. McLynn, F. *op. cit.* p. 186.
 8. Zuckerman, A.J. *op. cit.* p. 191
 9. Bartlett, R. (2000) – *England under the Normans and Angevin Kings 1075 – 1225*, p. 162, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
 10. McLynn, F. *op. cit.* p. 192
 11. Bradbury, J. *op. cit.* p. 181
 12. Swanton, M. *op. cit.* p. 196, Abingdon Manuscript

Chapter 4.

1. See note 4, Chap. III, regarding Gokstad excavation.
2. Swanton, M. *op. cit.* pp. 196 – 197; also McLynn, F. *op. cit.* p. 199
3. Powicke, Sir F.M. & Fryde, E.B. (1961) – *Handbook of British Chronology*, 2nd. Edition, pp. 26 – 27, Royal Historical Society, London, UK
4. McLynn, F. *op. cit.* p. 202

*** This translation is mine. I have tried to maintain the sense and stanzas of the original as well as making the modern English rhyme in the same way as the original. I take full responsibility if this has not been achieved. This death poem is based upon one of the Sagas and it is probably a moot point as to whether Harald Hardrada actually dictated it. However Harald was an extremely good poet and some of his poems still exist including a beautiful one to his first wife Elizabeth – The Princess of the Ring. So it is possible.

Chapter 5.

1. For arguments regarding Calbec Hill as the place for the Battle of Hastings see Bradbury, J. *op. cit.* pp. 168 – 176.
2. Oman, C. Sir (1991) – *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, Vol. 1. p. 155, Greenhill Books, London, UK
3. Ibid. p. 159
4. Ordericus Vitalis *op. cit.* p 184
5. Bradbury, J. *op. cit.* p 184.
6. The Bayeux Tapestry shows Harold with his Dragon standard, but his standard of the Fighting Man, is said to have been sent to Rome as an offering after the battle. See also Bradbury, J. *op. cit.* p 178.
7. Bennett, M.(1988) – *Wace and Warfare in Anglo-Norman Studies*, XI pp 37 – 58.
8. Oman, C. Sir *op. cit.* Vol. 1 p. 152 (note 2),
9. William of Poitiers *op. cit.*
10. See also Bradbury, J *op.cit.* p 199
11. Oman, C. Sir *op. cit.* Vol. 1 pp. 115 & 165

Chapter 6.

1. Baker, J.H. (1981) – *An Introduction to English Legal History* (2nd. Edition), p. 12, Butterworth & Co. Ltd., London, UK
2. Campbell, J. (2000) – *The Anglo-Saxon State*, p. ix Hambledon and London, London & New York.
3. Davies, N. (1999) - *The Isles: A History*, Macmillan, London, UK.
4. Baker, J.H. *op. cit.* pp. 1,2,3 & 195
5. Campbell, J. *op. cit.* p xix.
6. 6. *The Domesday Book* (1985) – Phoebe Phillips Edition, edited by Thomas Hinde, Hutchinson Ltd, London.
7. Ibid – Sussex
8. Montgomery, H. (1992) *op. cit.* pp. 1,3,10,11 etc.
9. Garrett, G. - *Conquered England 1066-1215* in *Illustrated History of Medieval England*, Saul, N. (ed.), Oxford University Press, UK
10. McLynn, F. *op. cit.*
11. Campbell, J. *op. cit.* pp 216 – 217
12. Montgomery, H. – *Lectures on the Norman Invasion 1066*, given at University of Applied Sciences, Belgrade in 2000.
13. For more detailed analysis of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman land system and taxation see: “*Illustrated History of Medieval England*”, in various essays, “*The Oxford Illustrated History of Medieval Europe*”, essay The lineaments of power, “*The Anglo-Saxon State*” by James Campbell, the “*Domesday Book*” Ed. Thomas Hinde,

and *The Isles: A History* by N. Davies. See also Hicks, C. – *England in the Eleventh Century*, Stamford Press, USA. I have referred to the book by Maurice Ashley also in the text. This is *The Life and Times of William I* (1992) – Weidenfeld & Nicholson Ltd. UK.

Chapter 7.

1. Ashley, M. (1973) – *The Life and Times of William I*, p. 78, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, London, UK.
2. *Ibid.* p. 84 (See also the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle).
3. *Ibid.* p. 84
4. See [Chapter II](#)
5. Hinde, T. (Editor) (1986) – *The Domesday Book*, p. 11, Hutchinson, London, UK
6. *Peterborough Chronicler* – ‘All did him homage and became his men and swore him oaths of allegiance.’
7. Montgomery, H. *op. cit.* p. 3 & 6
8. *Kelly’s Handbook to the Titled, Landed and Official Classes* (1943), London, UK
9. Munch, *Norske Folke Historie* 2nd series, Vol.11, p. 95. Also *Diplomaticum Norvegicum* Vol. 11 pp. 353-355.
10. Letter dated August 2006

Appendices:

* Cp. The Three Fragments of the Annals of Ireland for 862. (Translation: Aedh, son of Niall, and his son-in-law, i.e. Amblaeibh (the daughter of Aedh was wife to Amhlaeibh) set out with great forces of Gaeidhil and Lochlanns to the plain of Meath, and they plundered it and slew many noble persons.).

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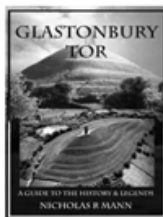
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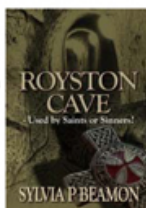


Glastonbury Tor
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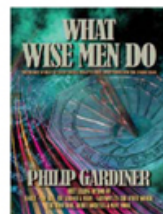
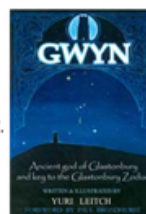
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Gwyn- Ancient God of Glastonbury and key to the Glastonbury Zodiac

Yuri Leitch

This book explores Glastonbury's mysteries through its most ancient god, Gwyn ap Nudd, a figure who has been debased to a mere 'King of the Fairies'. The author draws back the curtain of time to restore Gwyn to his rightful place at the apex of the ancient British pantheon and reveals how he is fundamental to the landscape enigma that is the Glastonbury Zodiac.



What Wise Men Do - The Secret World of Conan Doyle, Bram Stoker, Jules Verne and the Unseen Hand

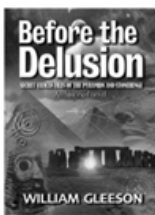
Philip Gardiner

What Wise Men Do takes the reader on a journey to uncover the real purpose, until now hidden, of some of history's great physicians, politicians and writers. This is a controversial but always compelling re-analysis of history told from the point of view of one of today's most prolific authors.

**The Star Temple of Avalon -
Glastonbury's Ancient Observatory Revealed**

Nicholas R Mann & Philippa Glasson

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The Temple # 14

Ed. Oddvar Olsen

The Temple is a quarterly periodical dedicated to providing a platform for original articles pertaining to the Knights Templar and related subjects, such as the Grail/ Arthurian Legends, Masonic Lore, Early Christianity, Alchemy and much more. Since its inception in 2002 the Temple has been at the cutting edge of research into these subjects and has published articles by both renowned authors as well as so called coffee-table students. Current issue # 14. For more info: www.thetemplebooklet.co.uk



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THE GOD-KINGS OF ENGLAND

Following on from 'The God-Kings of Europe', 'The God-Kings of England', continues the Saga of the great Ulvungar Dynasty. It shows that there was a plan to counter the hegemony of Roman Christianity, by counter attacking, first with Viking raids and later by conquest and settlement. This is the tale of the Ulvungars and their attempt to conquer England, under the leadership of Danish Kings such as Sweyn Forkbeard and Canute. They were opposed by their Odonic Anglo-Saxon cousins such as Alfred and Aethelred. The Ulvungars would take control by force of arms. One branch would take England; another would take control of Normandy. Ultimately, they would combine after the Battle of Hastings in the Anglo-Norman Dynasty that would found the Angevin Empire.

This book shows the web of marriages and alliances and the detailed planning that went into the final push that culminated at the Battle of Hastings. It shows how the Davidic line of Jesus was protected by the Odonic Kings of England and Dukes of Normandy.

In the appendices the author traces and explains who William the Conqueror's real ancestors were and shows detailed genealogies.



"Hugh is a well-known Medieval Historian, who has written and lectured on this subject for many years. His book 'The God-Kings of Europe', whilst controversial, must be taken seriously. His new book, 'The God Kings of England' is equally important and will add immeasurably to our knowledge and understanding of the period. I have always believed in uncovering the truth as much as possible and not just swallowing what one has been offered as reality. So much have been covered up by the people in power who, for reasons of control, preferred docile acceptance of facts to conscious excavating".

Princess Elisabeth of Yugoslavia

Hugh Montgomery was educated both in the UK and abroad, after a successful business career in South America, Africa and the Middle East, as well as the UK, Hugh Montgomery returned to Academia becoming President of and Professor at the Megatrend University of Applied Sciences in Belgrade, formerly Yugoslavia now Serbia. He retired from the position of President some five years ago, but remains on the board of overseas Professors. In 2005 he was elected a Fellow of the prestigious Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Scotland's oldest learned Society, founded in 1780. In retirement he continues to work for the local community being recently elected a local councillor.

Professor Montgomery holds a Ph.D. in Audiology, a Diploma in Contract Law and the professional qualification of Ingeniero Comercial (Chile). He is the author of a number of technical and historical papers and books including, 'The Montgomery Millennium' and 'The God-Kings of Europe'.



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